THE UNIVERSITY *of* EDINBURGH

Gendered Perspectives in Archaeological Narratives of the Danish Bronze Age:

Deconstructing the Binary Approach

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PhD by research

The University of Edinburgh

2011

Abstract

Utilising a gender critical perspective augmented by statistical analysis, this thesis examines the binary approach customarily employed throughout archaeological narratives pertaining to the Danish Bronze Age. In respect to the recent development of feminist scholarship in archaeology regarding concepts of gender, identity and the body in prehistory, it is argued that a binary approach, which views prehistoric society as having been structured according to rigid male-female oppositions, places inappropriate restrictions upon evidence relevant to the study of gender in Bronze Age Denmark. To decipher the meaning encoded in any type of evidence related to gender ideology a perspective which emphasises contextual analysis rather than assumed heteronormativity is essential. In addition, statistical analyses of data from a representative sample of the mortuary record reveal that continuous implementation of the binary approach in the documentation of funerary remains has effectively corrupted the integrity of the evidence.

The results of this investigation have significant consequences for the study of gender and societal organisation in the Danish Bronze Age. Gender categories valued by contemporary western ideology can no longer be grafted onto prehistoric society in archaeological investigations of the Bronze Age in Denmark. Moreover, traditional methods which use the objects in a grave to determine a burial's sex can no longer be justifiably employed. Furthermore, analysis demonstrates that it is not possible to gain a comprehensive understanding of gender ideology from the mortuary data alone. Rather, through the application of current approaches to the study of gender in the past, osteological examination of the skeletal material must be revisited in conjunction with the analysis of evidence from elsewhere in the archaeological record. Thus, the potential variation concerning this period in Danish prehistory is greater than can be explained through the limitations of a binary approach, perhaps extending to evidence for the existence of an ambiguous gender identity in the society of Bronze Age Denmark.

I have read and understood the University of Edinburgh guidelines on plagiarism and declare that this written dissertation is all my own work except where I indicate otherwise by proper use of quotes and references.

Acknowledgements

Throughout the course of this research there were many people who assisted me to whom I would like to express my appreciation. I am especially indebted to my supervisors Dr. Diane Bolger and Dr. Gordon Thomas, without whose guidance and inexhaustible supply of enthusiasm this thesis would not have been possible. For their patience, kindness and expertise I offer my sincere gratitude.

In seeking to incorporate statistical analysis of mortuary data into my thesis I had set myself quite a challenge. Throughout this process I was aided by Frances Provan, statistician in the computing department at Edinburgh University, who always made time for me when it was needed; without her genius I would have been lost. Also of great assistance in this capacity was Dr. Jing Sun, statistician and Senior Lecturer in the School of Public Health at Griffith University, who kindly lent me her time and expertise. Dr. Dorothy Graves also gave guidance and support in this area of my research whilst continuously encouraging me to have faith in myself. Additionally, I owe Dr. Niels Lynnerup a debt of gratitude for providing me with a dataset of osteologically examined burials for use in my statistical analyses. I would also like to thank Dr. Mads Kahler-Holst and Dr. Kathy Rebay for taking the time to respond to my correspondence and for directing me to helpful resources which I may not have found otherwise.

I would like to express my appreciation for my close friends and colleagues: Dr. Jeff Sanders, Dr. Vasiliki Koutrafouri, Dr. Shelly Werner, Dr. Dorothy Graves, Dr. Melanie Johnson, Philip Karsgaard, Erin Osbourne Martin and Dr. Matthias Merkle for their camaraderie, advice and commiseration. In addition, I would like to thank Melanie, Jeff and Dorothy for their assistance in refining the completed document and Matthias for providing me with the occasional German translation and helpful resources, which proved to be invaluable to my research. I am also grateful to those friends who helped to make Edinburgh my second home, most especially Dr. Robert Groves and his wife Alison who, in countless ways, have been a family to me.

Finally, I would like to thank my family for their unfailing support and encouragement, above all, my grandparents who always espoused the value of an education, my father, who pushed me to strive and to always have faith in myself, my husband for his eternal patience and my beautiful mother who inspired me with her courage and shielded me from the worst so that I might succeed. It is largely because of her sacrifice that this research has come to fruition and it is to her that I dedicate this thesis.

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Chapter 1

Introduction: Challenging the Binary Narrative

The Danish Bronze Age is depicted in archaeological accounts as a time of technological development, expansion and change, governed by chieftains and defended by a male class of warrior elite who form the story's central theme (Earle 2004; Earle et al. 1998; Harding 2000; Jensen 1982; Kristiansen 1978; 1982; 1987; 1998; 2002; Kristiansen & Larsson 2005; Kristiansen & Rowlands 1998; Randsborg & Christensen 2006; Treherne 1995). The other half of society in Bronze Age Denmark was comprised of females whose role was that of wife, mother and homemaker. Traditionally, within the frame of this binary narrative, relationships and social organisation have been taken for granted rather than examined. Therefore, it has been assumed that males and females would have formed familial bonds through marriage (Earle 2004; Randsborg 1984; Vandkilde 1999; Kristiansen 1987; Kristiansen & Larsson 2005). Furthermore, warrior status, portrayed as the archetype of masculinity, is considered the highest achievement to which any man could aspire (Earle 2002a; 2002b; 2004; Kristiansen 1978; 1982; 1987; 1998; 2002; Kristiansen & Larsson 2005; Treherne 1995). Accordingly, these men and their families formed the powerful elite of Danish Bronze Age society, signalled by the various objects of bronze which accompanied them to the grave, the ultimate symbol of ranking among these being the sword (Earle 2004; Kristiansen 1987; 2002; Kristiansen & Larsson 2005). Nordic women are depicted as having managed all things domestic, from weaving to the care of children and general maintenance of the home (Randsborg 1984; also see Victor 1999 for an alternative gender perspective). Whilst men are assumed to have controlled the administration of political affairs, it is suggested that

women perhaps also played a role through the formation of ‘interregional marriage alliances’ (Kristiansen & Larsson 2005: 234).

Having had no local source of copper or tin readily available, the chiefly elite are presumed to have arranged importation and control of these components. According to the narrative, through travel over great distances foreign contacts and trade networks were formed, transmitting metallurgical knowledge and materials in plentiful supply, thus giving rise to the production of bronze in the Nordic tradition of design (Earle 2004; Kristiansen 1978; 1987; 1998; Kristiansen & Larsson 2005; Kristiansen & Rowlands 1998). Access to the manufacture of bronze and objects forged from it was restricted to elite families and distributed under the control of governing chieftains (Earle 2002a; 2002b; 2004; Earle et al. 1998; Kristiansen 1987; 1998; Kristiansen & Larsson 2005). Set within a pastoral landscape, they occupied long houses, the greatest of which are thought to have housed the families of regional leaders (Earle 2002b; 2004). Nearby, the round barrows perched, traditionally interpreted as family burial places encapsulating generations of the warrior elite and their wives as a testament to ancestral connections and the ownership of land (Earle 2002b; 2004; Fokens 1999; Kristiansen 1987). In the surrounding wetlands, marginal environments inhabited by the gods, depositions were made by the elite (Levy 1979; Vandkilde 1999), ensuring successful results in battle and the proliferation of land and animal (Fokens 1999).

It has only recently become possible, through increased awareness and modern techniques, to recognise communal remains from the Danish Bronze Age, which in the past were identified simply as the products of cultural activity (Thrane 1985; Rasmussen 1992-93). Do to the highly acidic quality of Danish soil, the pursuits of modern agriculture and environmental impact, the search for recognisable structural features has produced mixed results. However, though much of what is known about Bronze Age society in Denmark was drawn from the burial record, information pertaining to human affairs, such as social structure, cultural ideology and personhood, remains only vague speculation. Paramount among these theories is the assumption that prehistoric society, its values and institutions were organised

according to binary principles. Consequently, sex has become a byword for gender, the underlying assumption being that among prehistoric people gender was understood as a quality inherited at birth, producing a society whose structure mirrors an idealised view of our own. Here, there were only males and females, each comprehending selfhood in opposition to the other.

1.1 Exposing the Roots of Binary Models in Bronze Age Denmark

Amongst the general public, archaeology and Danish prehistory were from the outset romanticised, with patriotism playing a central role--the past was depicted as 'glorious' and its people as proud (Moberg 1981). An example of this can be found early on, in 1835, in the unearthing of the first mummified body from a Danish bog, a woman then commonly supposed to be the Gundhilde of legend (for whom the bog was named), an illustrious Viking queen (Worsaae 1872). This tradition was to continue in its appeal, consequently suffusing finds of the Bronze Age with noble splendour. In 1871, in the round barrow Borum Eshøj, on Højballe Farm, in Århus County, Jylland, an oak coffin containing the remains of what was later anthropologically determined to be a 50-60 year old woman was discovered by the land's owner. With costume and artefacts intact, she was an instant source of fascination to the rest of the community, who soon relinquished their find to archaeologists for further examination (Glob 1974).

Following this, in 1875, two additional oak coffins, this time containing male burials, were removed from the mound by archaeologist Conrad Engelhardt, the first aged between 50 and 60 years old, the other a young man of about 20 (Glob 1974). Both were clothed in a kilt style garment worn belted about the waist. A cape was pinned over the shoulders of each man and upon the elder male's head was a round cap, all of wool. Two further burials containing well preserved examples of male costume are also known, having been excavated from the mounds Trindhøj in the early 1860's and Muldbjerg in 1883. Of the costume, the main garment varied from those

observed before (see Chapter 4), though both individuals wore a cape and cap and were equipped with (among other things) long swords of bronze (Glob 1974). From these findings the quintessential image of Bronze Age men as fierce warriors and chieftains ruling over an aristocratic society was formed; however, it was the women who would prove most intriguing to the moralist bourgeois culture of 19th century Denmark.

The woman from Borum Eshøj was the first female of Bronze Age origin to be uncovered in Denmark. Laid out in a woollen costume consisting of a square top with elbow length sleeves and heavy full-skirt, with her long hair ornately tied up in a woven net (See Chapter 4 for further discussion), she was every bit as dignified in appearance as expected. However, this view was challenged in 1921, when the burial at Egtved was removed by archaeologist Thomas Thomsen and transported to the National Museum in Copenhagen for further analysis. According to dentition she was eventually aged at around 16-18 years at the time of her death (Randsborg & Christensen 2006). From the waist up she would have appeared much like her predecessor, wearing a top of similar style; however, rather than the full length garment seen at Borum Eshøj, the Egtved burial wore upon her hips a revealing skirt of rope tassels stitched together at the bottom edge which stopped just above the knee (see Chapter 4 for further discussion).

Later, in 1935, a burial with similar attire as the female from Borum Eshøj was discovered. The Skrydstrup grave, osteologically determined to contain a woman, aged 18-20, was excavated by C.M. Lund of the county museum in Haderslev and shipped to the National Museum where she would join the others (Glob 1974). In an article published in local newspaper *Illustreret Tidende* prior to their display in the museum at Copenhagen, Worsaae (1872) described each costume, beginning with which sex—male or female—each costume belonged to. In the public mind, Bronze Age females were regal and modest. Clothed from top to toe in a full length skirt and blouse, the woman from Borum Eshøj optimised this ideal, and later the Skrydstrup burial confirmed it. To the people first glimpsing upon the noticeable contrast in design between the costumes of 'Borum Eshøj woman' and 'Egtved girl' (as they

would come to be called), the first seemed suitably chaste, whilst, in comparison, the latter was received with absolute shock (Glob 1974).

Many theories were postulated as to the difference, most of which attempted to moderate the function of the string skirt in Danish Bronze Age society. To this end it was proposed by Thomsen (1929) that the style of skirt worn was a matter of age, with the elder, more respectable woman clad in the more virtuous garment, though the subsequent uncovering of the girl from Skrydstrup disproved this. Perhaps the longer article was worn out of doors while donning of the corded skirt was restricted to the warmer, private environment of the home (Glob 1974). It was also suggested by Thomsen (1929) that the columnar skirt, providing a great deal more coverage, would have been meant for everyday use, the corded worn only during the performance of ritual activities and celebrations. A still greater example of the string skirt's reception can be found amongst certain reconstructions of the time in which it was illustrated as an overskirt, with the more demure long skirt ever-present beneath (Glob 1974; Lomborg 1971).

Another item arousing controversy through its association with female burials, the dagger, provides further evidence of attitudes held at the time and their lasting affect on archaeological interpretation. Considered a masculine occupation, power, violence and the tools in their service (i.e. swords, axes, spears, daggers and knives) were deemed suitable only for men. From this perspective, the inescapable connection between daggers and female graves (introduced by a dagger found with the woman from Borum Eshøj) presented a challenge to the accepted standards of womanliness then valued by society (Bergebrant 2007), thus continuing a long-standing dispute concerning which artefact types were appropriate for which sex. Did women participate in battle (Mestorf 1889) or were they equipped with daggers as a means of self defence in case of emergency (Müller 1876)? More recently, it has also been suggested that the dagger was not functional in either way, but was, rather, a symbol indicating the carrier's status as "...wife of a sword-bearing husband' (Randsborg & Christensen 2006: 32). Inevitably, such disputes lead back inexorably

to the place from which they originated: the question of female character (Hjørungdal 1994).

Mortuary analyses, which inform all manner of social investigation concerning the Bronze Age in Denmark, continue to favour traditional biases, as has been the case in other locations and chronological periods of study (Hjørungdal 1994). Thus, the tendency of archaeological scrutiny to be more heavily directed toward females is highlighted in the expressed concerns regarding suitability of certain artefact types and dress to the female temperament, whilst male leadership has always just been assumed (Hjørungdal 1994). An item of bronze jewellery, for instance, such as a finger or arm ring, when found in a grave alone, is taken to indicate that the remains are those of a female. However, should a dagger or knife be present in a grave unaccompanied by additional items, the individual is more often than not assumed to be male (Eisner 1989; also see Chapter 5). Rooted in 19th century dialogue, the habit of branding particular items as male while others are perceived appropriate for females, "...'male tools,' e.g. weapons, versus 'female tools' e.g. sewing needles" (Hjørungdal 1994: 144), has been incorporated widely into archaeological consciousness. Over time this tendency developed into the commonly utilized binary categorisation weapons/tools/male, jewellery/female, which, even now, continues to be employed in the determination of gender (Hjørungdal 1994) and subsequent social analyses that may be derived from burials of the Danish Bronze Age.

1.2 Outline of Approach

This thesis is an attempt to unpack the binary narrative implicit in archaeological reconstructions of the Danish Bronze Age. Specifically, I will focus on problematising the unremitting practice of assigning sex to human remains exclusively based upon artefact types included in graves. In doing so, I will demonstrate this methodology to be flawed, and furthermore, responsible for recapitulating the traditional biases inherent in binary thinking. However, it is first

necessary to consider the history of gender research and the way the mortuary record for this period has been translated by academic enquiry. Burials are often the best source for observing constructs of gender and identity in the past. Through unique processes of preservation, mortuary data from the Danish oak coffin burials provides archaeology with a rare glimpse of the individual in prehistoric society. From these burials we are afforded a great opportunity to explore gender ideology and the construction of personhood in Bronze Age Denmark. However, of the thousands of persons interred in Bronze Age barrows throughout Denmark, only a handful of burials, originating from the middle and southern regions of Jylland, account for this phenomenon (Randsborg & Christensen 2006). Beyond these special few, skeletal material is generally poorly preserved due to the high acidity of the soil in which the mortuary population was interred (Bennike 1985; Broste & Balslev Jørgensen 1956). This situation is partly to blame for the reliance upon artefacts to determine sex; however, the long standing perceptions and values of those involved in the process of excavation and analysis must be held accountable for the sustained popularity of this approach. Negligence has set a precedent with regard to sexing these remains. Though the potential is limited, with more recent advancements in science a re-examination could prove fruitful.

In discussing this I argue that a binary methodology, founded upon the biases of contemporary values and propagated through the sexing of mortuary remains by artefact type, is not applicable to Danish Bronze Age society, nor is it a scientifically valid means of advancing our knowledge of the past. In point of fact, the most informative method of accessing gender ideology in prehistory is not through the correlation of remains with artefacts hypothetically categorised by sex, but rather the anthropological sexing of remains. However, as stated above, information regarding gender which can be gleaned from the mortuary record of Bronze Age Denmark is limited by the widespread degradation of skeletal material. Consequently, the most effective way to surmount this shortcoming is through integrating other available forms of evidence from the archaeological record with what can be garnered from a re-visitation of the remains. Thus it can be seen that potential for greater variability

in gender categories of Danish Bronze Age society is evident in the archaeological record if viewed comprehensively with an objective mind.

To this end, I begin my thesis with background information pertinent to understanding how these burials (and evidence for gender ideology in general) have been perceived in academia and the potential they hold for broadening the archaeological perspective of the past. Chapter 2, entitled 'Round Barrows of the Danish Bronze Age: The making of a cultural landscape', examines the history of mound research in Denmark as well as their significance in early Bronze Age society, from location to aspects of construction and ritual associations. Attitudes toward these mortuary sites are reflective of the historical context in which they were discovered and continue to influence interpretations of the burials contained within them. Traditionally, the mounds and their burials have been treated separately, with aspects of each examined from a technical perspective. Socially, they are alleged to have been the tombs of chiefly warriors and their wives. It seems that burial in a round barrow was an honour reserved for only small segment of society, most of whom were adult males. However, with little emphasis on discerning the identity of the builders or the buried from the perspective of the cultural-historical context in which they lived, burials were interpreted according to common values held at the time of their excavation, which continue to colour analyses of the Danish Bronze Age even today (Hjørungdal 1994). Nevertheless, examination of these sites and the transition in mortuary practices from inhumation in the Early Bronze Age to cremation in the later period may increase archaeological awareness concerning the beliefs of Danish Bronze Age society in regard to gender, identity and the body.

In Chapter 3, 'Gender Archaeology: Theory and Method', I outline the development of gender theory in archaeology through the influence of feminist approaches. Out of concern for the seldom discussed role of women in the past, feminist scholars began changing the face of archaeology by confronting the field's androcentric view of prehistory. Calling this into question involved the examination of task distribution, often using ethnography, to argue that many activities consigned by archaeologists to the realm of men, could have been conducted by women as well (Bertelsen et al

1987). Further on, in second wave, focus was shifted toward the seemingly universal suppression of women, investigating its origins in prehistory. However, it was not until some time later with the developments of third wave feminism that gender archaeology progressed beyond its original aims and binary concerns to a holistic methodology which continues to enrich archaeological perspective. As with the development of gender in archaeology, approaches applied to the Danish material toward decoding gendered practice in the Bronze Age evolved over time, each with its strengths and weaknesses. Whilst it will be shown that some approaches, such as those of Mary Louise Sørensen (1997; 2000; 2006) and Janet Levy (1995; 1999; 2006), have made significant inroads toward challenging an academic tradition which promotes gender asymmetry in studies of prehistoric culture, others have contentedly accepted the bipolarity, limiting their own investigations to male-female relationships.

Clues as to the nature of gender ideology in the Danish Bronze Age are examined in Chapter 4, 'Gender and Identity in Bronze Age Denmark'. Three categories of evidence through which facets of gender ideology may be expressed, costume, artistic representation and ritual use of material culture, are investigated. Through dress and the alteration of physical characteristics, the body may be presented as an exhibition of identity. Heavily involved in this process, the composition of costume, its patterns and variations, may reflect numerous facets of personhood, among them my principle focus, gender (Sørensen 1991; 1997; 2000). In imagery from rock art and the anthropomorphic figurines portrayals of male and female persons illustrate features of gender ideology through numerous channels. Activities in which the figures are engaged, the way the body is represented, clothed and styled, its relationship to material culture and the types of interactions depicted between figures can be gleaned from these illustrations. Similarly, objects deposited in votive offerings were gender associated items, as intimated by the mortuary data and in figural representations. In their capacity as carriers of gendered meaning, these objects played a symbolic role. Archaeologically, they are further indicators of the values and metaphors attached to gender which structured Danish society in the later Bronze Age through their application to daily and ritual life. Such representations

have a unique ability to inform or, when regarded in conjunction with the mortuary evidence, supplement our understanding of attitudes toward gender, its construction and its performance in prehistoric societies (Nelson & Rosen-Ayalon 2002b).

Among existing interpretations of this evidence, the trend is one which favours a masculine-feminine paradigm in which sex and gender are merged and presented as one category, timeless, universal and unquestionable (Aner & Kersten 1973; 1976; 1977; Bergebrant 2007; Gibbs 1987; Harding 2000; Kristiansen 1987; Kristiansen & Larsson 2005; Randsborg 1973; 1984; Randsborg & Christensen 2006). By demanding that prehistory be interpreted through blinders, this popular approach has been instrumental in establishing the direction of archaeological rhetoric. However, examples of investigation in which the same materials have been re-examined through fresh perspective, make evident the range of unexplored possibilities (Bapty & Yates 1991; Levy 1995; 1999; 2006; Sørensen 1991; 1997; Yates 1993; 2000). Drawing from the conclusions of Chapter 3, I argue that when approached from an alternative standpoint, structures naturally occurring within the evidence demonstrate the potential for varying degrees of flexibility inlying a gender ideology of greater complexity than has been recognized by traditional narratives.

In Chapter 5, the quantitative portion of my research, I will demonstrate through the use of database concepts and statistical analyses, the extent to which binary thinking has influenced the material record of Bronze Age Denmark, informing theoretical frameworks and shaping archaeological dialogues. Based on the most comprehensive site catalogue to date containing mortuary records of the Danish Bronze Age, the burials in my database will reflect any biases which permeate the data. Each burial contained in this publication has been classified as male or female by connection of artefacts, within a systemised duality endorsed or, perhaps, unconsciously adopted, by the authors. In order to highlight the influence of this skewed perspective, the relationship between artefact type distribution and sex will be evaluated. Of equal interest will be the occurrence of atypical cases within the data which could prove significant archaeologically in establishing whether ‘Male’ and ‘Female’ burials consistently conform to a rule determining association with specific artefact types

(i.e. weaponry for ‘Males’ and jewellery for ‘Females’), as is generally assumed in the literature. How, then, are artefact types related to gender in the burials? Is there any evidence for the occurrence of gender specific artefact types within the data? And if so, what do they say about the degree of accuracy and objectivity offered by a binary methodology? These and other related questions will be explored in detail.

Finally, in Chapter 6, I conclude by discussing some of the potential areas for improvement and suggestions for the development of future research pertaining to gender and identity in the Danish Bronze Age. This will include a discussion of advancements through which progress has recently been made toward reducing ambiguity in some of the material. I will also aim to review biases exposed in the statistical analyses from Chapter 5 more thoroughly and in connection with findings from the preceding chapters. Overall, through these connections it will be shown that there was greater variability and potential for flexibility in society of Bronze Age Denmark than can be perceived according to the boundaries within which archaeology has circumscribed the past. Examples of such individuals from the database exhibit unusual characteristics in terms of material culture which were previously overlooked or rationalised and provide clues as to the potential fluidity within this system of gender construction, affording new perspectives on social identity. In these cases, artefact type, assignment of sex and/or skeletal material are exemplary of failings in the binary methodology, but also present new possibilities for accessing gender and identity in ideology of the Danish Bronze Age.

In the chapters that follow I have tried to highlight the extensive bias in the polarised universe created by academia from the archaeological record of Bronze Age Denmark, and attempt to demonstrate that a system which places males in opposition to females is wholly inappropriate to this society. Indications of a more fluid gender ideology, visible in various media from this period, are accordingly revealed. By building a case through a review of sites, a consideration of evidence for gender ideology, and a critical appraisal of traditional research approaches and statistical evidence, it becomes clear that what we are dealing with is a corrupted archaeological record in need of reinterpretation. By acknowledging biases

previously taken for granted by archaeology and drawing attention to their effect on the integrity of prehistoric societies, the hope is that, as a discipline, we are able to reassess and pose new questions of the data, thus improving the character of research pertaining to the Bronze Age in Denmark.

Chapter 2

Round Barrows of the Danish Bronze Age: the Making of a Cultural Landscape

In the Danish Late Neolithic, also known as the Dagger Period, a variety of burial methods were employed, varying according to preferences, and no doubt informed by the complexity of social organization and customs present from region to region (Vandkilde 1996). Megalithic cists, an influence from Western Europe, containing the collective burials of a corporate ideology, dotted the landscape in the form of dolmens and passage graves (Coles & Harding 1979; Glob 1971; Kristiansen 1987). Cremation, inhumation in flat graves and the reuse of older megaliths for secondary burials was also practiced. However, the tradition that continued into and eventually dominated the Bronze Age was that of the Single Grave Culture (Coles & Harding 1979), as exhibited by the greatly increased level of barrow construction (Holst et al. 2001), a well known feature of the Early Bronze Age in Denmark (see Table 2.1, Appendix A, for chronology).

This chapter begins with a brief overview of the history of research and the effects of encroaching modernity on the preservation of Danish round barrows of the Early and later Bronze Ages; these will be discussed in their roles as ritual constructions, commemorative visual markers and archaeological sites (see Figure 2.1, Appendix A, for a map showing the location of sites referred to throughout this chapter). In this sense, the location of Early Bronze Age mounds, their placement and function in the cultural organisation of the landscape, as well as the techniques, materials and symbolic aspects of their construction, will be examined. In addition, the gradual

replacement of traditional inhumation with cremation, which became the preferred burial rite of the Late Bronze Age, will be considered in terms of the depositional practices, ritual aspects, continuities, and changes which characterise this transformation. Finally, at the centre of each mortuary tradition is the deceased, costumed, decorated and groomed as a familiar living body or incinerated through the spectacle of cremation to be interred as bone and ash. In closing, I will consider what these customs reveal about changes in beliefs concerning the body and identity in Bronze Age Denmark.

2.1 Background: Mound Research and Conservation

More research exists on the round barrows than on any other feature of the Bronze Age in Denmark. Due to their considerable size and strategic distribution within the landscape, these burial monuments have long fascinated the likes of monarchs and historians as well as archaeologists. In the 13th century, historian-mythographer Snorri Sturluson considered the mounds to be of noble origins, containing the royal burials of kings or chieftains (Randsborg 1999). It was largely thought that the past, its relics and peoples could be explained through the use of folklore and written documents (Trigger 1989), and these speculations were later to be used as a manipulative tool of the Danish monarchy in its political posturing with Sweden (Moberg 1981; Randsborg 1999). Archaeological material was of most interest to the educated upper classes, their enthusiasm fuelled by the gathering together of knick knacks, with collections often including items of prehistoric origin (Kristiansen 1985a).

Such individuals include Ole Worm (1588-1654), an avid antiquarian and author famed among his peers, whose random assembly of artefacts formed the first museum. (Andersen 2001; Kristiansen 1985a). His most influential work, *Danicorum Monumentorum Libri Sex*, was a 6 volume catalogue of Danish monuments assembled parish by parish between 1626 and 1643, exhibiting a thorough breadth of

knowledge, unparalleled by even the most noted Danish Antiquarians (Randsborg 1992). Unpublished (except for the information on rune stone finds) and eventually destroyed in the Copenhagen fire of 1728, these records "…probably represent the earliest attempt at dealing with the archaeological monuments of an entire region" (Randsborg 1998a: 246). Other significant contributions include the work of Christian Jürgensen Thomsen, Oscar Montelius, J.J.A. Worsaae, Willhelm Christian Boye and Sophus Müller. Father of the Three Age System, C.J. Thomsen's chronological division of archaeological material represents the first archaeological paradigm. Based upon observations of find material from round barrows, J.J.A. Worsaae concluded that the Bronze Age could be divided into two periods, Early and Late (Gräslund 1987). Willhelm Christian Boye, one time student of C.J. Thomsen, devoted his life to the excavation of round mounds and the study of Bronze Age culture. Working throughout Denmark and Schleswig Holstein, he was the first to observe this principle in the field (Stensager 2003). Following this, Oscar Montelius expounded upon Thomsen's approach in the development of his chronology of European prehistory, further sub-dividing the three ages into time periods based on the source material, form and decoration of artefacts (Trigger 1989). Similarly, Sophus Müller, curator to the National Museum from 1892, is most notable for his work towards developing archaeology as a science in terms of methodology, chronology and excavation (Kristiansen 1985a).

Early on, the search for prehistoric treasures was only conducted on a small scale with many of the finds melted down as part of state income until 1663 (Kristiansen 1985a). The introduction of new agricultural reforms in the 1780's, which allowed the cultivation of previously untouched land ushered in a surge of treasure hunting zeal (Kristiansen 1985a; Randsborg 1999). However, it was not until later, in the 1850's, that the mass destruction of burial mounds reached its peak. In response to a flourishing private trade in artefacts, the Royal Commission for Antiquities was founded in 1807 and the National Museum, known as the Royal Museum of Nordic Antiquaries until 1892 (Kjærgaard Andersen 2001), was established in Copenhagen. From its inception, the acquisition of archaeological material for museum display meant collaborating with amateur archaeologists and landowners, as well as private

collectors (often one in the same) (Kjærgaard Andersen 2001; Poulsen 2001). This proved necessary for the utilisation of local knowledge concerning the discovery of archaeological finds, often through construction or agricultural activity, which were subsequently reported to the museum (Kjærgaard Andersen 2001). Determined to put an end to looting and the destruction of Danish monuments, Müller spearheaded a campaign aimed at educating the public whilst large scale preservation activities were undertaken. Meanwhile, this problem was simultaneously advanced by progressive developments in agricultural technology and the addition of new roads and railway lines (Kristiansen 1985a), which further altered the Danish landscape and its monuments.

In 1937, the urgent need for legislative protection in the face of continuing massive population growth and rapidly developing technology was finally recognized with the passing of the Conservation of Nature Act. Socially, the monuments came to be recognised as valuable manifestations of cultural heritage, symbols of an ancestral link to the past inspiring veneration. Archaeologically, academic and amateur communities alike had an interest in preserving what was left for future research (Nielsen 1985). Today, monuments are carefully classified according to site type and location, and recorded in a national register. All recorded monuments are lawfully protected from alteration, while any findings of an archaeological nature must be reported for further inspection immediately (Nielsen 1985). In the interest of making information on these sites more readily available for future study, archaeologists Ekkehard Aner and Karl Kersten have compiled a detailed site by site catalogue comprising multiple volumes to date (the first of which appeared in 1975). *Die Funde der älteren Bronzezeit* covers the vast area of Denmark (including the Danish isles) and much of Northern Germany, opening the region's burials, monuments and hoards, protected and long since destroyed, to researchers outside of Denmark (Jensen 1987). Although many of them have since fallen under the plough or modern road works, it is estimated that more than 86,000 mounds, presently recorded in the national Sites and Monuments Record (SMR), once covered Denmark alone (Johansen et al 2004; Kristiansen 1989).

2.2 Round Barrows of the Early Bronze Age

2.2.1 Location

Seated upon the gently rising moraine hills of the Danish countryside, the round mounds appear visually distinctive, their presence dominant over the surrounding areas. Constructed upon hill tops, they appear exaggerated in size when viewed from below and more highly visible when glimpsed from afar (Coles & Harding 1979). "There can be no doubt that the burials were meant to be seen" (Coles & Harding 1979: 100) to create a sense of permanency, thereby invoking social memory (Chesson 2001b) among those communities related to the mounds' construction. This is evident in the continuous reuse of early Bronze Age round barrows for secondary interments (Olausson 1993), a practice that continued into the Iron Age (Hornstrup 1999). Symbolically, the mounds may have been intended to represent the 'chronological continuity' (Olausson 1993) of Bronze Age society, with individual members of successive generations taking a place in the mounds among their predecessors. Simultaneously present, through the visual cue of their monumental resting places and absent from the roles they once filled in daily life, the dead maintain a connection to the living, and thereby to the future dead (Hallam & Hockey 2001) as well as to the ancestors, reinforced by their powerful presence in the landscape.

While evidence has shown that some mounds were built upon fallow, overgrazed fields (Jensen 1982) an argument has also been made for ritual ploughing as part of the process of erecting a burial mound (Rowley-Conwy 1987), a practice which may account for the presence of plough marks beneath monuments dating as far back as 3300 BC (Bradley 2005). One such example can be seen at Hjerpsted in Tønder County, southern Jylland. Previously destroyed by the plough, upon excavation it was found to contain ard marks associated with the first phase of the mound's construction and laid down prior to the placing of curb stones (Wiell 1975). Whatever the explanation for their existence, there is an undeniable relationship between these round barrows and the ard marks upon which they were built, perhaps

indicating a lack of distinction between ceremonial and daily life (Wiell 1975: 62). Similarly, some of the best preserved houses from Bronze Age Denmark have been found as a result of round barrow excavations. In some cases the two structures overlap, the mound having been placed only partially over the long house (Wiell 1975). However, at Trappendal, Vejle County, also in southern Jylland, through a gradual process of enlargement (in three phases) the mound was positioned to include a complete long house, previously incinerated, a burial placed strategically within (Boysen & Andersen 1983). Measuring 24 metres in length and 8 metres wide, this sizeable structure may have been begun as a home; however, it is equally likely the original intent of its construction was for mortuary purposes (Coles & Harding 1979).

Due to the finding of ard marks and the remains of such settlements beneath Bronze Age barrows, it is thought that the mounds were distributed randomly among the living units and the surrounding subsistence area "…their density and degree of clustering reflecting the long-term territorial stability and land-use continuity of the settlement unit" (Johansen et al. 2004: 36). However, this may not be the case with all barrows, as some mound groupings appear to have been organised along a linear pattern, resulting in the formation of barrow lines. For this reason it has been suggested that a structuring relationship existed between the placement of settlements, roadways and the mounds, with the settlements occurring along the roadways and the mounds around the settlements, thereby causing the mounds to reflect the orientation of the roads over time (Johansen et al. 2004). Spread out across central Jylland, the barrow lines can be seen to form a visible network of communication, integrating Bronze Age communities through a spatially organised social matrix.

In some cases it has been estimated that where settlements occurred with adjoining mounds they were constructed roughly one kilometre apart (Olausson 1992). Through such observations and the use of pollen analysis it may be possible to better understand spatial relationships and cultural use of the landscape in Bronze Age Denmark (Olausson 1993; Andersen 1996-97). Analyses of pollen samples taken

from various strata in barrows from Thy demonstrate different strategies of environmental exploitation through time, indicating that while sparsely forested areas still existed in relationship to the mounds in Period II, by Period III round barrows were constructed in open treeless areas as the rate of deforestation increased to meet the rising pressure for pastureland (Andersen 1996-97). Similarly, from the Danish Middle Ages to the 18th century the density of barrow covered land in relation to the low percentage of land under the plough was such that the monuments were utilized as grazing pasture (especially where they occurred in groups) while the surrounding fields were put to agricultural use (Kristiansen 1985b).

At Skåne, Sweden, Deborah Olausson (1993) has calculated that the basic social unit in daily life in terms of economic stability and basic social structure was the farm. The "territorial unit" encompassing each farm (0.5 km^2) would then be demarcated by the erection of large burial mounds. Beyond this, the district (20 km^2) would have included several farm units while the province (2000 km^2) would have encompassed each of these areas, exhibiting a strong sense of social organisation. Finally, at the uppermost horizon is the region, delimiting an area of up to 200,000 square kilometres, this level perhaps functioned as a highly important economic and cultural centre for prestigious ceremonial activities (Olausson 1993: 110-111). Geographically tied to the farmsteads and therefore the inhabitants of the land, these round barrows shaped the character of the Bronze Age landscape, evoking remembrance and lineal heritage, thus ensuring the dead a dynamic place among the living.

2.2.2 Construction

Ranging in size through the Bronze Age, round barrows were often began as moderate constructions, created to hold one or more primary burials. Over time, as additional burials were added, the size of a barrow was increased in order to accommodate them (Coles & Harding 1979). As a result the round barrows vary in size and construction with an average diameter of 15-20 metres (Johansen et al 2004) and height ranging from 2 to 4 metres. However, a mound which has been through

several phases of augmentation may be as large as 38 metres across and 9 metres high (e.g. Borum Eshøj, known to have been one of the largest mounds of this type in Denmark; see Figure 2.2, Appendix A) (Glob 1974) and can contain up to 30 or more burials (Coles & Harding 1979). Therefore, we can say with some certainty that the size of the mound does not necessarily reflect the overall wealth of the burial(s) within (Levy 1995).

Although the individual interments contained in the round barrows give the impression of Bronze Age Denmark as a highly stratified, elitist culture, focussed upon the individual, there is still a prevailing element of communal participation (Johansen et al 2004). It is obvious, from the quantity of individuals buried and the disproportionate ratio of male to female burials, with children hardly appearing at all, that the burials themselves represent but a small percentage of the original population (Johansen et al 2004; Kristiansen 1978; Jensen 1982). In turn it has been argued that these represent the elite class of a warrior based chieftain aristocracy (Earle 2004; Earle et al. 1998; Harding 2000; Jensen 1982; Kristiansen 1978; 1987; 1998; 2002; Kristiansen & Larsson 2005; Kristiansen & Rowlands 1998; Randsborg 1973; 1984; Randsborg & Christensen 2006; Treherne 1995). However, it must also be considered that one barrow may hold numerous burials (see Figure 2.3, Appendix A) and, while the latter are presented as individuals (as opposed to the corporate identity of Neolithic long barrows) interred on separate occasions (representative of the different phases in the mounds' construction), they still occupy the same mound (Johansen et al 2004). Furthermore, the construction and successive enlargement of the mounds themselves would have required a suitably large investment of cooperative labour. While a single structural phase may hold several primary burials, further enlargements may have been made simply for the sake of increasing the size of the monument (Johansen et al 2004). With this in mind it has been suggested that these barrows were maintained and populated by a collective of several 'settlement units' (Johansen et al 2004: 36). From this perspective it would seem that the round barrows signify more than simple monuments to individual, elite members of society.

Structural components include the use of turf, stone and earth as well as sand; sometimes they also included wooden balusters, as evidenced in the form of post holes, such as those at the Late Bronze Age site of Lusehøj (discussed further below) near Voldtofte on Fyn. Many mounds include a base of cobblestone paving and an additional surrounding packing of stones which act as a support for the oak coffin placed upon it (Coles & Harding 1979). The existence of such a platform, which is oval and trough-like in shape and the length of a human body lying supine, is taken to signal the pre-existence of a now disintegrated coffin (Randsborg & Christensen 2006). Uniform in size and shape, these stones appear to have been chosen carefully (Coles & Harding 1979). Wood chips recovered during mound investigation indicate that perhaps the construction site of a future mound also served as an area in which to further prepare the casket and final resting place of the deceased (Randsborg 1998b). Stone cists were also used as receptacles for the dead. Over the primary burial(s) a central mound was built which acted as a protective core (Holst et al. 2001), often enclosed by a ring of large kerb stones (see Figure 2.4, Appendix A) and by yet another layer of turf, earth or sand, followed by a final outer carpet of turf (Coles & Harding 1979; Kristiansen & Larsson 2005). Timothy Earle suggests that the extensive use of turf, a precious resource, "…on which the nation's cattle grazed," as mound building material is indicative of a communal display of power and wealth (2004: 119). Through their presence the mounds would have exuded an architectural sense of permanence, thereby establishing ancestral property rights to pasture land. In this way, barrow cemeteries would have acted as markers of "…ownership over animal commons and thus over their products" (Earle 2004: 120).

There may also be evidence for the purposeful inclusion of well developed iron-pan cores as part of the construction process of the original mound, thereby inducing the preservation of those burials and the accompanying artefacts included within (Breuning-Madsen & Holst 1992-93; Breuning-Madsen et al. 2001; Holst et al. 2001). The most well known round barrows are remembered largely for the individual burials they contain. In this sense Jylland boasts the greatest occurrence and degree of preservation, owing to the density of mounds with hard-pan cores, which acted to encourage the permeation of water into the oak coffins and the

contents (Glob 1974). In this case, a small mound (or 'wet barrow') would be constructed over the central burial(s), which was then thoroughly saturated with water before the erection of the outer mound. Once in place, the outer mantle would prevent moisture from escaping and the formation of the protective iron core could begin.

The iron core that holds in the water, protects the surrounded coffin from the destructive effects of oxidation (Randsborg & Christensen 2006). In cross-section, the innermost area appears as a thoroughly saturated, 'bluish-grey' vesicle, its rich moisture securing the organic materials therein from the effects of decay. In contrast, the outer strata, separated from the core by a thin white barrier of iron pan, remains a dry brown, its contents exposed to the natural consequences of time (Breuning-Madsen et al. 2001). Excavation of mounds with protective cores has often been accompanied by a gush of water, as if from an underground spring, signalling the iron-pan's existence (Glob 1974; Randsborg 2006). However, since this has only been observed in a small number of burials from Jylland, it can hardly be regarded as a common phenomenon. Among the few examples of preservation are the famed individuals (an older male and female as well as a young man) from Borum Eshøj (Glob 1974; see Figures 2.5 and 2.6, Appendix A), the women from Egtved (ibid) and Skrydstrup (Broholm & Hald 1939) and the Muldbjerg Chieftain (Glob 1974; see Figure 2.7, Appendix A). From these burials it is possible to investigate aspects of Bronze Age custom such as costume, hairstyles and manner of adornment (examined in Chapter 4).

2.2.3 Ritual and Symbolic Aspects of Mound Construction

In their recent publication, *The Rise of Bronze Age Society*, Kristian Kristiansen and Thomas Larsson (2005) discuss the ritual cosmology of round barrow construction and ritual. Each element is considered significant and meaningful to the overall construction in its symbolic representation. In the first phase of tumuli production, the outer circle of curb stones is thought to represent the "sun wheel," depicted in other motifs such as the Trundholm sun chariot (Bradley 2006; Kaul 1998;

Randsborg & Nybo 1984; Kristiansen & Larsson 2005). This is best illustrated by the excavation of Hjordkjær, a round barrow from Åbenrå County, which revealed a clearly demarcated wheel of curbstones, each of its five spokes radiating out from the primary central grave (Aner & Kersten 1981, site record 3017; Kristiansen & Larsson 2005). According to Kristiansen and Larsson, the domed mound body above this is evocative of the rising sun "...unifying heaven and the underworld" (2005: 242). They further suggest that the extensive use of turf in the building of Danish mounds is symbolic of meadowland and the plentiful livestock that would graze upon it in the afterlife (Kristiansen & Larsson 2005). The oak coffin and burial contained within the tumulus are representative of the life tree as seen in Norse mythology (Kristiansen & Larsson 2005; Harding 2000). Here, the roots of the tree form a connection to the underworld while the branches reach toward the sky. In this way the oak coffin unites these two spheres with the transitional world of the living. From this perspective, the occasional placement of holes, located on the underside of the coffin, presumably for the drainage of bodily and other fluids (Randsborg 1998b), may have served a much different purpose. Were the soul of the deceased restricted to the confines of the body until burial, encased within a coffin and furthermore a tumulus, the spirit would need a means of escape. Provided with holes, or as at Store Ørenhøj in Randers County, a stone tube linking the wood coffin to the original surface upon which the mound was constructed, the soul could enter the world of the spirits below or of the sun above (Randsborg & Christensen 2006).

Other research has demonstrated a similar link between the Danish oak coffin burials and sun symbolism (Randsborg & Nybo 1984). Based on the inclusion of certain plant remains it was possible to reconstruct the season and even the month at the time of burial. Throughout the year the sun appears to move, gradually altering its position in the sky along the solar arc with the change of seasons. From the time of death and the seasonal positioning of the sun it is possible to determine the direction in which the corpse was faced at the time of interment. It would appear that in this aspect of funerary ritual the sun played an important role, with graves (in Period II) oriented to face the sun either at dawn or at dusk. "Death, and the eternity of the natural world and thus of life itself, seem to be incorporated into the symbolic whole" (Randsborg

& Nybo 1984: 165). As with the Trundholm chariot, it has been suggested that the sun motif can be found in other forms, namely the round tutuli with thorny protruding centre points associated with both male and female dress, evocative, perhaps, of the round peaked hat of a sun deity (Randsborg & Christensen 2006), and the large round spiral decorated belt plates, also with mid thorns, found in some female graves (Kristiansen & Larsson 2005).

From preparation of the body to the choosing and careful arrangement of essential components, mound building in Bronze Age Denmark was sequentially executed through an elaborate process, each layer methodically constructed to plan (Sørensen 2004). Examination of the best preserved, indicates the great care taken in readying the body: fingernails seem to have been trimmed and neatly rounded, men appear cleanly shaven, whilst elaborate hairstyles were created for the women, with the clothing and funerary tokens arranged accordingly. The process of separation and committal of the deceased to coffin "…and its subsequent covering, would obviously have provided many opportunities for dramatic gestures, citations and narrative points…" (Sørensen 2004: 171). Each action, the gathering of special materials, the felling of a chosen tree and its subsequent transformation into coffin, grooming and presentation of the body and assembly of the inner and outer barrow sections, underlines a significance of meaning connecting each person involved to the deceased, the monument and the community.

2.3 Round Barrows of the Late Bronze Age

2.3.1 Burial Practices: from Inhumation to Cremation

While the funerary tradition of the Early Bronze Age is characterised by extended inhumations placed in oak coffins and laid to rest in visibly large earthen mounds, customs in the Late Bronze Age exhibit a marked change, interpreted as evidence of a great transformation in cultural ideology regarding death (Harding 2000; Sørensen & Rebay 2007; 2008a; 2008b). Although it was not fully adopted as the preferred

burial rite until this time, cremation can be traced back to the Late Neolithic and was ushered in as the primary mortuary ritual during a relatively short transitional interval beginning in Period III of the earlier Bronze Age. At this time, cremations were treated much like inhumations in that the burned bones of the deceased (once collected and the charcoal removed) were placed in a human length wood coffin together with an unburned assortment of wool garments and personal items, with a mound erected to cover them (Glob 1971; Coles & Harding 1979). An example of these transitional burials can be observed in an early Period III grave from Hvidegård, situated north of Copenhagen, in which the cremated remains were arranged along the human length stone cist lined with ox hide, while the clothing and objects were placed on top of the bones as in an inhumation grave (Aner & Kersten 1973, site record 399; see Site ID 10, Burial No. 1, Appendix B; see also Figure 2.8, Appendix A). Over time the oak coffins as well as the burial accompaniments shrank in size, and eventually the use of wood was replaced with stone. By Period IV cremations dominate the burial record, the chosen receptacles being rather large ceramic urns with only a few small, unburned, bronze items such as awl needles, tweezers and tutuli included (Glob 1971). In some cases, though not commonly, cremation urns were made to resemble structures, such as houses or grain silos, perhaps connecting the dead symbolically to the fertility of the harvest (Bradley 2002).

Many cremations were simply deposited in the outer mantels of round mounds constructed during the earlier Bronze Age, while others were placed under much smaller mounds by comparison or in cemeteries of flat graves (also know as urn fields) (Glob 1971; Coles & Harding 1979). The Early Bronze Age tradition of mound building was transformed along with the preferred method of burial, resulting in a dramatic decrease in quantity and size of mound, the average being 5 to 10 metres in diameter and 1 to 2 metres in height (Coles & Harding 1979). However, at Lusehøj, near the Bronze Age settlement of Voldtoft in Fyn, it was shown that although smaller mounds were most common, the construction of larger tumuli was still being maintained (Thrane 1993a).

Mounds of the Late Bronze Age were placed in more densely packed groupings (Glob 1971). At Lusehøj a large barrow, termed a 'maxi-mound' by Henrik Thrane (1993b), measuring roughly 36 metres in diameter and 6 metres in height, was constructed over two flat graves and the ploughed over remains of an Early Bronze Age settlement as well as the smaller, previously built mounds, where it was part of a collection of similar monuments (Thrane 1993a; see Figure 2.9, Appendix A). Due to their diminutive size, Thrane's 'mini-mounds' (1993b) are difficult to locate in the landscape (unlike their larger predecessors) and many were easily destroyed by successive generations of farmers. In most cases it is only at sites like Lusehøj, where special circumstances of preservation exist, that mini-mounds were protected, thereby informing us of their existence (Thrane 1993b). The four pre-existing mini-mounds contained within the larger Maxi-mound at Lusehøj were each roughly 4.5 to 5.3 metres in diameter and less than 0.5 metres high (Thrane 1993b) at the time of their construction.

Densely packed with urn cremations, these mounds date to Period IV of the later Bronze Age, (Thrane 1993b) while the enveloping dome of the Maxi-mound was constructed in Period V (Thrane 1993a). maxi-mounds similar to that at Lusehøj can be found throughout Fyn (Thrane 1993b), though no finds to date have yielded such lavish furnishings (Thrane 1993a). Kuskens Høj, located in Vester Skjeminge near the southwest coast, consists of two building phases, the earliest dating to Period V and measuring 12 metres in diameter upon completion (Thrane 1993b). Dating to Period VI, the over ploughed mound, Hannemose, also in Vester Skjeminge, was at one time an impressive 21.5 metres in diameter, as indicated by the remaining circle of curb stones (Thrane 1993b). Most like Lusehøj is Håstrup, which measures 38 metres in diameter. Dating to period VI, Håstrup was erected over several funerary structures, i.e. mini-mounds and their associated contents (Thrane 1993a). Constructed throughout the Late Bronze Age, mini and maxi-mounds "...seem to reflect local socio-economic status above all" (Thrane 1993b: 85).

2.3.2 Ritual Aspects of Late Bronze Age Mounds

It has been suggested that Late Bronze Age mounds served a ritual function, perhaps as meeting places for ritual activity, as well as being receptacles for the cremated dead. The presence of animal remains, interpreted by Karen Hornstrup (1999) as sacrificial, and objects of flint (both have been observed in Late Bronze Age mounds of Skåne and Denmark's Ringkøbing district) perhaps indicate a connection between ceremonial practice and the seemingly ordinary business of everyday life, the slaughtering of livestock, for example. This explanation is further illustrated at Nr. Dalgaard Syd, a Late Bronze Age round mound with a semi-circular surrounding ditch, the ends of which open into the mound, creating the impression of an entryway. Similar occurrences have been observed in northwest Jylland and in combination with the appearance of other ritual features such as cooking pits, ceramic sherds and cup-marks these sites are interpreted "…as evidence of a prevalent ancestor cult" (Hornstrup 1999:145).

In Thy, excavations have yielded evidence of possible ritual structures or cult houses located just outside the periphery of some larger round mounds (Nielsen & Bech 2004). Consisting of a stone paved area and post holes demarcating the structural outline of the building, these cult houses contain numerous Late Bronze Age ceramic and lithic fragments as well as the remains of fire pits and burned bone-evidence of ritual cult activity (Nielsen & Bech 2004; Kristiansen & Larsson 2005). Architectural remains of these houses were covered over by barrow earth and in this way were protected against further damage. Examples can be seen at Grydehøj and Gramstrup I where secondary burials of the Late Bronze Age had been placed in the mantel edge of previously existing mounds (Grydehøj originally dating to the single grave period) nearest the adjoining cobbled pavement (Nielsen & Bech 2004). Although analysed it has not been possible to identify the origin of the burned bone; if human it could mean that after cremation the remains were housed near the mound in which they were to be interred. Another possibility is that of animal sacrifice or ritual feasting as part of cult ritual with the cult house being the centre in which these activities took place (Nielsen & Bech 2004; Kristiansen & Larsson 2005). Rather than appearing to

focus upon the individual, as in the Early Bronze Age coffin burials, death in the Late Bronze Age seems to be more concerned with the ritual actions themselves, the transformative act of cremation as its focal point (Hornstrup 1999).

Adopting this concept, Bo Gräslund (1994) argues that enabling the liberation of the spirit to the afterlife from its once vital shell is the fundamental principle of cremation ritual. Only through the destruction of the body (which in cremation is accelerated by fire) can the 'free soul,' which is active during periods of unconsciousness (Gräslund 1994), truly be freed. He believes this is illustrated by the distinct lack of prestige goods in the funerary urns of the Late Bronze Age, whereas inhumation burials of the Early Bronze age are accompanied by numerous large items (such as swords and chunky adornment objects) of bronze and gold, which would be needed by the deceased on their journey. Unlike organic materials, metal cannot be consumed by fire (Gräslund 1994) and thereby transmogrified into smoke. Accordingly, the few items found in cremations are most often utilitarian, of inconsequential size and untouched by fire. Tweezers, razors and double buttons of bronze (a commonly found combination), associated with male burials, perhaps utilized in the ritual preparation of the body and therefore likely to be considered of a tainted or personal nature, were added to the cremated remains unburned, while needles and such items for the fastening of garments would have been cremated along with the wearer (Gräslund 1994). Essentially, items that could not be burned would be unable to enter the spirit world, while the deceased would be released through the act of burning. For this reason the inclusion of fewer burial goods and even the construction of much smaller burial marking monuments appear to have been sufficient acts of commemoration.

It has been suggested that Early Bronze Age mortuary ritual, involving the solitary encapsulation of individual coffin burials beneath solid earthen mounds, indicates a belief in the stationary soul. The spirit or essence of the deceased was equipped to spend eternity within the confines of the barrow, whilst the adoption of cremation provided a means of releasing the spirit from the body (Glob 1974; Randsborg & Christensen 2006). Although Sarah Tarlow (1992) emphasises cremation as a change

in concern regarding the physical body (from delaying decomposition of the deceased to what may be considered a cleaner, less polluting form of disposal), a grave from Himmerland in which the charred remains were furnished with roughly eight pairs of wings and two clawed feet removed from six jackdaws and two crows, perhaps intended by the mourners to aid in ascension of the soul (Glob 1974), may provide further support for the 'free soul' (Gräslund 1994) concept of cremation. However, it must also be considered that the act of cremating a corpse rather than employing traditional inhumation practices may have been related to changes in perception concerning the body and social identity (Sørensen & Rebay 2007; 2008a; 2008b). Though in the oak coffin burials, the display of identity seems to have been a valued part of mortuary ritual, this seems to have been of lesser concern in the case of cremation, where, through time, burials began to convey a greater degree of ambiguity.

2.3.3 Living and the Dead in Late Bronze Age Funerary Ritual

Unlike inhumation, cremation is a performance of metamorphosis, intensely engaging the senses and thereby the social memory of those present (Williams 2004), through which the corpse is transformed (Oestigaard 1999). In his study of Anglo-Saxon cremation rites, Howard Williams (2004) suggests that from the beginning of the cremation ritual, participants are sensately immersed, interacting with the deceased through the gathering and arrangement of pyre material as well as the handling of the corpse. Once lit, the corpse is consumed by flames, exposing muscle, organ and finally bone. During this process bodily fluids escape and evaporate causing muscular tissue to contract and the cadaver to appear animated through twitches and jerks. This visual spectacle would be accompanied by the sensation of great heat, the smell of burning flesh and the sounds produced by escaping gasses, taking several hours to reach its conclusion (Williams 2004). Although it is true that the dead are manipulated by the living (Parker-Pearson 2003), with cremation ritual as the vehicle, a dialogue is created, allowing the dead to engage the living through the role in which they are cast (Williams 2004).

In Denmark, stake holes found on the original ground surface beneath later Bronze Age mounds are believed to be evidence of pyre activity. Further indications can be found in the presence of charcoal layers or pits. The so called (over-ploughed) Mega-mounds, Lusehøj, Hannemose and Håstrup, located on the island of Fyn, provide examples (Thrane 1993b). As well as encapsulating small pre-existing barrows, the mega-mound at Lusehøj contains evidence of pyre activity in the form of a cremation pit and charcoal filled stake holes (Thrane 1993a). At Hannemose, the primary cremation urn, dated to Period VI based on its contents, had been placed upon the earliest ground surface at the base of what would become the mound. Beneath it, a substantial charcoal filled area was found with three corresponding stake holes, interpreted as the remains of a funeral pyre (Thrane 1993a). Rather than being a single feature, Håstrup is a rich site possessing a series of mounds, all of which date to Period VI. Here, six stake holes located adjacent to a charcoal layer were construed as having held the frame supports of a pyre structure (Thrane 1993a.). As at Hannemose, the charcoal section was topped by the primary urned cremation as well as two secondary burials, all housed within the primary mound of the group.

From three sites in the Holstebro area of the Ringkøbing District, Ny Sognstrup, Kruderup and Nr. Dalgaard Syd, several urn cremations from the Late Bronze Age were investigated. Of these, 40% of the cremations represented also contained burned animal remains (Hornstrup 1999). Sometimes treated as artefacts (Williams 2004), the presence of animal remains in burials could also be interpreted as sacrificial (Williams 2004; Hornstrup 1999). Further questions arise: was the animal carcass placed upon the pyre wholly to accompany the dead as in life or butchered first as a nutritive offering of meat? At Spong Hill, an Anglo-Saxon cremation cemetery in Norfolk, England, the bones of domestic horse, pig, sheep, cattle and dog, as well as some wild animal species, were intermingled and buried with human remains (Bond 1996). In this instance, entire horse carcases appear to have been cremated, perhaps to accompany their masters in death, while pig and sheep remains bear the marks of butchery, suggesting their use in feasting activities (Bond 1996). Although most of the animal bone found in the cremations at the aforementioned

Ringkøbing sites was unidentifiable as to species, one burial contained the fragmentary remains of either a pig or a sheep (Hornstrup 1999: 143).

A basic reconstruction of events allows us to glimpse the sequence and timing involved in cremation ritual. Firstly, this may require the physical preparation of the body, i.e. washing and dressing. During this time or following it, the material for the pyre must be gathered and its structure assembled. Pyre construction requires that the components in use be arranged in such a way as to allow for the circulation of air (Williams 2004). At Damsgård, Thy, an over-ploughed site from Period III, evidence from a cremation pit indicates that various materials were utilized. Pollen analysis of the surrounding area points to a treeless landscape at the time the mound was erected; however, charcoal from the pit demonstrates the use of ash and aspen. Peat was also present, providing the earliest evidence of peat digging for fuel in Denmark (Olsen & Bech 1993-1994: 196). Once the body and the pyre are made ready the corpse was arranged upon the raised platform of the pyre with the chosen accompaniments (i.e. sacrificed animals, etc.). At this point the pyre may be lit, its contents consumed. Upon completion, the bones can be collected, cleaned and deposited in their chosen receptacle (in Denmark an urn, cist or pit).

Cremation results in a more thorough reduction of the body than does inhumation, thus stripping the corpse of the individual identity (Tarlow 1992) once so thoroughly displayed in the coffin burials of the Early Bronze Age. While valued for its symbolic, ritual function, cremation may also be understood as having a more rudimentary purpose, that of controlling death, or rather, the abhorrent affects of decay (Barber 1990; Tarlow 1992). The timing of cremation, its rapid disposal of the corpse and therefore antiseptic nature provide an “intermediary period” in which to prepare and carry out time consuming rituals (Oestigaard & Goldhahn 2006). Terje Oestigaard and Joakim Goldhahn (2006) suggest that the various aspects of a cremation funeral can be split into three stages: the cremation of the deceased, the “intermediary period” and lastly, the deposition of the remains. Through cremation the time constraints of inhumation are negated, creating a period of intermission, thereby allowing for the elaboration of gesture and the renegotiation of relationships

(Oestigaard & Goldhahn 2006). Finally, the remains can be interred, sometimes on the remnant cinders of the pyre (Thrane 1993b), a mound of earth raised over them.

2.4 Comparing Funerary Customs of the Early and Late Bronze Ages in Denmark

In the mortuary practices of the Earlier Bronze Age in Denmark, inhumation stands out as the traditional rite through which a deceased member of the community was mourned, commemorated and disposed of. With each person separately encased in an oak coffin beneath the protective dome of an earthen mound, this custom seems to have emphasised the identity of the individual. Through each preserved burial, carefully groomed and clothed in gender specific costume with ornaments, weapons and tools arranged in relation to the body, aspects of social identity are observable. It has, therefore, been suggested that, as a part of the custom of inhumation, the body, having been understood as retaining its corporality, was presented in death as in life (Sørensen & Rebay 2007; 2008a; 2008b). In this manner, the dead body appeared as familiar as the living body "...still possessing the same social and physical characteristics" (Sørensen & Rebay 2008b: 60).

In contrast, cremation, the preferred custom of the later Danish Bronze Age, transforms the corpse of the deceased into ash and bone, nullifying all signs of identity (Tarlow 1992). Through this process the physical and social characteristics of each person were rendered ambiguous, thus though it was apparent that each burned bone correlated to a specific part of the body (Sørensen & Rebay 2007), the dead body no longer resembled the living body (Sørensen & Rebay 2008b). Furthermore, though perhaps costumed at the time of cremation, metal objects did not accompany the dead onto the pyre, but were instead added to the remains after they had been collected and arranged in their chosen repository (Gräslund 1994). Compared to those objects deposited in graves of the Early Bronze Age, articles added to cremations were fewer, smaller and often gender neutral.

Though sporadically employed as early as the later Neolithic in Denmark, it was in Period III of the Early Bronze Age that cremation appeared as a potential alternative to extended inhumation. During this transition, mortuary ritual retained much of its original character. Rather than scale down the receptacle into which the incinerated remains were deposited, the custom of interring the dead in a full-length coffin complete with a wool shroud-like covering and bronze accompaniments, continued (Glob 1971; Coles & Harding 1979). In this manner, elements from this practice were gradually incorporated into the primary tradition, ultimately supplanting it. Marie Louise Sørensen and Katharina Rebay (2007; 2008a; 2008b) propose that this process of integration allowed new ways of thinking about the deceased to be articulated in a recognisable way (2008a: 169). Furthermore, that the arrangement of cremated bone did, at first, mirror the interment of an unburned corpse signifies linearity in perception of the dead body. (Sørensen & Rebay 2007; 2008a).

In contrast to those of the earlier Bronze Age mortuary objects were no longer as sizable or numerous, nor were they placed on the body at the time of cremation, having most often been added secondarily with the remains from the pyre. Thus it seems the previously powerful bond between body and material culture was diminished, further indicating the conversion of ideology surrounding the dead and one's physical constitution in Danish Bronze Age society. As argued by Gräslund (1994), this break with traditionally held values may indicate a belief in the soul as released from the body by fire, whilst all non-combustible materials (metal, for instance) would have remained earthbound, unvaporised by the action of the flames. However, it has also been argued that early cremation graves in which the recognisable skeletal parts were reassembled to resemble the intact body, or those in which the charred bones were subject to other treatments, seem to contradict this theory (Sørensen & Rebay 2007; 2008a; 2008b). Instead 'reconstitution' of the remains suggests that a belief in the totality of the corporeal body was maintained amid the development of new ideas (Sørensen & Rebay 2007; 2008a; 2008b).

Over time cremated bone came to be stored in increasingly smaller receptacles, eventually concluding with the use of ceramic urns. This suggests that

proportionality of the containers was gradually adjusted in response to the greatly condensed dimensions of the human frame by fire and demonstrates the absolute adoption of new understandings concerning the body. Although significantly reduced, the collected parts were treated as representative of the whole. Housed inside a new ceramic skin, "...the urn [came] to embody the deceased" (Sørensen & Rebay 2008a: 171). Even so, cremation does not represent a complete departure from tradition in that the practice of employing round barrows to house the dead was sustained. Urns deposited as secondary burials in the outermost layer of pre-existing mounds best exemplify this continuity. Furthermore, for some time after its introduction, cremation was employed in conjunction with inhumation (Harding 2000). Thus, though fleshless and disarticulated, there is a sense that the cremated body was nonetheless recognised as having a proper place amongst unburned inhumations in anterior mounds (Sørensen & Rebay 2008b). However, in the later Bronze Age, cremations were frequently interred in their own miniaturised barrows. At times these knolls, densely packed with funerary urns, formed the condensed nuclei of enormous constructions, so termed 'maxi-mounds (Thrane 1993b). Consequently, any connection between the two traditions which had formerly been maintained gradually diminished (Sørensen & Rebay 2008b).

Through inhumation practices of the Early Bronze Age, the body was employed as a social mechanism for the display of gender and identity which was marked by way of costume, body alteration and ornamentation (Sørensen 1991; 1997; 2004). This attitude toward the body seems to have been maintained through the earliest stages of the transition to cremation as demonstrated by the careful arrangement of remains, garments and objects in human length coffins; by these actions, the decimated body was reconstituted (Sørensen & Rebay 2007; 2008a; 2008b). However, this does not seem to have been a concern in cremation ritual of the later Bronze Age, when identity of the deceased ceases to be visible (Tarlow 1992). Furthermore, associated objects were pared down and restricted to small items which, in many cases, were non-gender specific. Thus, from the longstanding tradition of inhumation to the initial experimentation with cremation ritual and its resulting regimented treatment of the body, it seems that identity, embodied in the corporeal figure of the deceased,

was either emphasised or, in a sense, neutralised. Overall, mortuary traditions employed in treatment and burial of the dead in Bronze Age Denmark may relate to a transformation in beliefs regarding the soul (Gräslund 1994), or a concern with the control of ritual timing (Oestigaard & Goldhahn 2006) and decay (Tarlow 1992). However, to a greater extent, as argued by Sørensen & Rebay (2007; 2008a; 2008b), these practices must be considered an expression of ideology regarding the body and identity in prehistoric society.

In Chapter 3 I will briefly review the history and development of gender studies in archaeology, with a focus on how this topic has been approached in research pertaining to the Bronze Age in Denmark. Though early approaches were binary in perspective and tended to focus on the introduction of women, recent advances in feminist theory have led to a rethinking of gender as a component of identity experienced and articulated through the body. Such understandings have had a profound affect on archaeological interpretation of the past, considering as they do, the way that prehistoric peoples engaged in social processes through which they perceived themselves and others. However, research concerning the Danish Bronze Age has been slow to incorporate current feminist scholarship, with many narratives following a traditional binary perspective. Accordingly, the mortuary record has been investigated in terms of artefact content which is read as a direct indication of binary gender. This will be discussed in contrast to approaches informed by recent gender theory with the aim of highlighting the potential for development of an archaeological framework receptive to the diversity of gender categories possible in Bronze Age Denmark.

Chapter 3

Gender Archaeology: Theory and Method

The archaeological study of gender emerged in the 1960's and 1970's out of dissatisfaction with the way in which the past and those who peopled it were portrayed, particularly women (Hays-Gilpin & Whitley 1998; Nelson 2006b). Though slower to undertake this challenge than other disciplines in the social sciences (Wilkie & Howlett Hayes 2006), archaeology has now begun to explore the rich variation in gender ideology and its contribution to the formulation of social identity and personhood in prehistoric societies. In this chapter I examine the development of gender archaeology and its influence on studies of the Danish Bronze Age. Attributable to long-established but critically flawed methods of investigation, social interpretations pertaining to this period in Denmark have habitually portrayed gender ideology as mirroring binary oppositions which were judged by most archaeologists to be 'natural': man and woman, masculine and feminine, husband and wife. By challenging this binary logic and the effect of its projection onto the past, I will reveal its shortcomings, arguing instead for the implementation of a multidimensional gendered approach. More specifically, when applied to the archaeological record of Bronze Age Denmark, evidence of gendered systems may inform what little has been learned from the anthropological sexing of remains.

3.1 Theory and Approaches in the Development of Gender Archaeology

3.1.1 Feminism and Gender in Archaeology: First Wave Theory

Feminist theory has played a crucial role in the development of gender studies in archaeology. By drawing attention to male dominance of the field as well as men's presumed control of the past, a previously unacknowledged problem distorting the results of traditional archaeological enquiry had been exposed. Interpretation of historical processes through the lens of institutionalised androcentrism—resulting in such constructs as 'man the hunter', 'man the warrior', 'man the farmer', 'man the skilled craftsperson', 'woman the domestic labourer'—was no longer acceptable. Beginning as a desire to uncover women in prehistory, gender archaeology sought to highlight female contributions, elevating woman from her place as a shadowy figure forgotten in the background. As with any new approach, gender archaeology was not without its difficulties. Early archaeological analyses were viewed as incomplete, requiring the enormous task of re-valuation (Sørensen 2000).

Naturally, in its development as an accepted interpretive framework, gender archaeology experienced growing pains necessary to its progress and the advancement of archaeology as a whole. In the beginning, emphasis was primarily focussed on the relevance of female occupations and how these added to the improvement of society (Nelson 2006b). In this manner, first wave feminism in archaeology accepted women as cast in their traditional roles, but argued that these were just as important as those played by men. Reconstructions of prehistoric life in which male activities were discussed at length while women went largely unmentioned were questioned in terms of how legitimately they contributed to the enrichment of archaeological knowledge (Nelson 2006b). In this vein early gender archaeology's preoccupation with women began.

3.1.2 Challenging 'Man the Hunter'

Around the beginning of archaeology's interest in the study of gender, the topic of male-centred histories was taken up by scholars in related fields such as paleoanthropology and primatology. To this point, studies of human evolution had been centred on the popular image of 'man the hunter,' which was based on the unlikely notion that early social organisation entailed the sexual division of labour with male acquisition of meat valued well above female gathering activities (Bolger 2006; Gilchrist 1999; Zihlman 1997). Accordingly, each female was considered to be monogamously bonded to a male partner upon whom she was dependent for meat and protection; the latter were provided in exchange for sexual amenability and the proliferation of offspring (Falk 1997; Wiber 1997). Furthermore, males, endowed with greater strength, aggression and size, were instrumental in the advent of stone tools and hunting (Wiber 1997). Through these activities, or rather, as a consequence of them, males were also credited with the development of bipedalism as well as ingenuity in the production of increasingly more complex technology, communication and cooperation, all of which were considered vital to a successful hunt (Bolger 2006; Gilchrist 1999; Wiber 1997). Thus, hunting was elevated to a position of principal importance in the advancement of culture and humankind, perceived as having provided the impetus for cerebral development and abstract thought (Bolger 2006). Advocates of this theory cited the aggressive behaviours of male baboons (Washburn & DeVore 1961) and chimpanzees (Taleki 1973) as the basis for reconstruction of social organisation in early hominids. However, through intervention of the feminist perspective, from anthropology, but also primatology, opponents of 'Man the Hunter' were instrumental in revising these traditional narratives to include women in models of human evolution (Bolger 2006).

The foremost challenge levied at 'man the hunter' was feminism's 'Woman the Gatherer'. Turning to ethnographic evidence drawn from Richard Lee's study of the !Kung (1968), Sally Linton (1971) argued that in hunting and foraging populations the food contribution gathered by women makes up a more substantial proportion of the diet than does the meat supplied by men. For this reason, foraging societies are

now more often referred to as ‘Gatherer-Hunters’ (Hayes-Gilpin 2000). Furthermore, noting the bond between mother and infant among chimpanzees, Nancy Tanner and Adrienne Zihlman (1976) disputed the claim that monogamous relationships in which females were dependant on male aggression for survival was the foundation of hominid life. Rather, they suggested it was the cohesion between women and their children that would more likely have provided the fundamental structure. Through this relationship, it was reasoned, invaluable skills and knowledge regarding the environment, acquisition of food and the manufacture of implements to do so would have been transmitted. Therefore early hominid females were not only passing on information necessary for survival, but were also innovative, and as such, made substantial contributions in daily life, but also to the development of modern humanity (Tanner and Zihlman 1976).

Frances Dahlberg (1981) later contended that the explanations of male-female task distribution offered by ‘Man the Hunter’ and ‘Woman the Gatherer’ had vastly oversimplified the issue. Referring to ethnographic studies of various indigenous cultures she pointed out two shortcomings shared by both models. Firstly, she asserted that observation of gatherer-hunter cultures indicates a more flexible division of labour between men women, often with the inclusion of children, but also, varying patterns of task distribution from group to group. Secondly, based upon the same examples, she drew attention to societies in which women did not only care for the children but also participated in the hunt, among other things. From this debate it became clear that women in foraging societies can be just as independent as the men, fulfilling a variety of roles. Introduction of the feminist standpoint proved that, though useful, the behaviour and development of early hominids cannot be understood through primate studies alone (Bolger 2006). Furthermore, through the reinterpretation of evidence from primatology and ethnographic analysis, feminist scholars demonstrated the extent to which ‘context-specific’ interpretation is involved in readings of the fossil record (Wiber 1997).

While broadening archaeological perspective beyond the traditionally favoured male paradigm, the exclusive focus upon females in antiquity contributed to the illusion of

a contemporary gender ideology set in prehistoric context (Sørensen 1992). In its failure to consider the possibility of a system constituted, perhaps, by multiple gender variants, the arguments disseminated by early gender archaeology accepted one false assumption (that of a prehistory strictly binary in structure) whilst rejecting another (that of a history fashioned only by men). Political practices and research goals had become conflated. Instead of amending theoretical models, proponents of early gender archaeology simply reacted to the masculinist practices and interpretations which had saturated the discipline (Sørensen 1992). An archaeological agenda that prioritized women's issues had produced an exclusively 'women's archaeology' (Gilchrist 1991). However, it must also be remembered that these early attempts to engender the past provided an essential foundation in the development of a more refined gender archaeology.

3.1.3 Feminism and Gender in Archaeology: Second Wave Theory

With the introduction of feminist theory to archaeology came the induction of women into archaeological narratives. Though they had achieved a degree of success in opening the issue to debate and the past to reinterpretation, academics taking up this cause were heavily criticised for their 'add women and stir' approach (Conkey & Spector 1984; Nelson 2006b). However, opening up what had become a patriarchal discipline to critique through the addition of women was naturally the most logical place to begin (Nelson 2006b). In its second wave, gender archaeology worked to overcome this hurdle by establishing new approaches for the study of gender in prehistory, including contradiction of biological determinism and the separation of gender from sex. Nevertheless, this was not easily accomplished, as the task of gendering archaeology was met with equal parts of scepticism and resistance (Bolger 2006; Gilchrist 1999; Hays-Gilpin 2000; Nelson 2006b).

It wasn't until the 1980's that the organisation of conferences and numerous publications aimed at establishing a dialogue had encouraged a rapidly growing interest in gender archaeology (see Albers & Medicine 1983; Bertelsen et al 1987; Classen 1992; Conkey & Spector 1984; Dahlberg 1981; du Cros & Smith 1993; Gero

& Conkey 1991a; Nelson & Kehoe 1990; Walde & Willows 1991). These tackled a broad range of topics concerning the pursuit of gender in prehistory, but also sought to highlight the position of women within the field (see Gero 1983; 1985; Levine 1991; Wylie 1983). Similarly, the contributions of female archaeologists throughout the history of the discipline were emphasised (Claassen 1994; Diaz-Andreu & Sørensen 1998), demonstrating that, although outnumbered, women had long played valuable roles in the investigation of the past. An article entitled *Archaeology and the Study of Gender* by Margaret Conkey and Janet Spector (1984) was the first among these publications to make a strong impact in highlighting the absence of gender theory from archaeological reconstructions of the past. Thus were archaeologists who had formerly disregarded the study of gender in prehistory confronted by its significance (Galison & Stump 1996; Renfrew & Bahn 2005). Published some years later, as the first successful publication of its kind, Joan Gero and Margaret Conkey's seminal work, *Engendering Archaeology: Women and Prehistory* (1991a) represents the culmination in development of gender archaeology to this point. Covering a broad range of periods and locations, the papers which constitute this volume embraced the separation of sex and gender, a hallmark of second wave gender theory, and collectively influenced the discipline, hauling gender archaeology out of the corner it had been swept into.

Refutation of the 'Man the Hunter' paradigm had encouraged examination of the roles of women in other events considered milestones in the development of social complexity, such as plant domestication (Watson & Kennedy 1991) and also their contributions in daily life as craftspeople and labourers (Gero 1991; Joyce 1992; Sørensen 1996; Wright 1991; 1996b). Additionally, it was argued that the traditional model of sexual division of labour was not the rule (Conkey & Spector 1984; Spector 1983). However, assumptions that labour had been universally executed according to polarised oppositions remained unquestioned. Thus, numerous studies involving binary labour divisions and the prestige gained by males and females who performed gender specific tasks were published, leading to the examination of male dominance as an historic universal fact and the search for its origins in the past. In this manner it was argued that the subjugation of females had not been determined by nature, but

rather by culture in the underlying values of every society. Two of the most widely known examples characterising this approach are examined below.

3.1.4 Dichotomies, Gender and Universal Hierarchy

Feminist scholars, refusing to accept that men gained superiority over women simply because of genetic factors, saw the origin of male-female inequality as having an explanation rooted in culture. Of interest to them was the origin and pervasiveness of patriarchal socio-political organisation with the aim of conceptualising changes in women's status through history (Voss 2000). Accordingly, some second wave theorists, arguing that the subordination of women to men was a cultural universal, sought solutions through social theory, ethnography and prehistory (Gellar & Stockett 2006b). Ideologies which view the sexuality and reproductive attributes of women as polluting, or endorse the exclusion of women from participation in administrative bodies and certain activities, especially those perceived as sacred, provided the greatest evidence of this global-historical dilemma (Ortner 1974, Rosaldo 1974).

One such example comes from Sherry Ortner, who found her explanation as to the origin of female subordination in 'universals of the human condition' (1974: 74). This refers to the cultural imperative of mankind to dominate nature through the creation of material products refined from their natural state in the environment. Through culture, humanity is able to regulate, and therefore, hold itself superior to, nature. With their cyclical menstruation and the ability to create and sustain life, women are more closely associated with nature than men (Ortner 1974). Though women may be recognised for their significant contributions to cultural processes, according to the same ideology, they are more or less entrenched in the natural world. While a woman is hampered by her biological bearing, ultimately intended for the creation of life, men are free, contributing more permanent, artificial creations which transcend life and, therefore, harness nature (Ortner 1974). Furthermore, through her connection to wild, uncultured children and, as their caretaker, the domestic arena, woman is a lesser participant in sociocultural life. Accordingly,

because women are understood as being more closely associated with, and limited by, nature, they are dominated by their cultural, publicly active counterparts, men (Ortner 1974).

Other scenarios similar to those of Ortner stressed cultural attitudes toward the reproductive capabilities of women as the main source of asymmetry between the sexes. Using the domestic/public dichotomy, Michelle Rosaldo (1974) argued that the connection between a woman and her child has led to the cultural correlation of women with domestic spaces and activities, thus limiting her participation in public life. In contrast, the pursuits of men, which take place in the wider community, are considered of greater value, whilst the access of females to the sort of institutions and influence wielded by men is minimised by their ties to the home (Rosaldo 1974). Furthermore, whilst men may enter the home bringing with them recognition for their public pursuits, from which women may benefit as the wives of successful husbands, women cannot enter into public life and, for that reason, their activities in the domestic sphere are not esteemed publicly. As a solution, Rosaldo (1974) advocates the entry of women into the public domain as well as the integration of men into domestic responsibilities. In this way, she suggests, greater parity can be achieved through a reduction of emphasis upon the segregation of public/domestic concerns including their dissociation from sexual attribution.

Heavily criticised by their peers, proponents of this approach were forced to address the arguments levied against the male/female, nature/culture, private/public theories, rescinding those elements which others recognised as more problematic (see for example Ortner 1996; Rosaldo 1980). Ultimately, it was understood among dissenters of this and other such explanations that their greatest weakness originated from reliance upon polarised concepts. Such oppositional structures as male/female, public/domestic or nature/culture, should they exist in a society, are culturally constructed and cannot, therefore, be described as natural or universally occurring concepts according to which every group formulates its worldview. Furthermore, sceptics of universal gender asymmetry disproved the central tenet of this approach, citing examples of egalitarianism from ethnographic accounts. In emphasising the

differences between men and women this approach essentialised what it means to be male or female, and furthermore, failed to distinguish between the concepts of gender and sex (Gilchrist 1999). However, others sought an alternative method, this time moving beyond the theoretical limitations of cultural determinism to redefine those principles which had formerly restricted male-female relationships to biology.

3.1.5 Asserting the Difference Between Gender and Sex

Another issue encountered by feminists in their pursuit of a gendered archaeology was the commonly held belief that, in any given society, gender is determined by an individual's biological constitution (Hays-Gilpin 2000). Guided by this assumption, osteological material was examined with the aim of assigning burials to socially recognisable categories, such as "...male, female, juvenile or indeterminate" (Hays-Gilpin 2000: 99; see also Sofaer 2006b). Consequently, this methodology was extended to include the use of mortuary goods as support for the designation of skeletal remains to the same categories. Thus the process of ascertaining a burial's gender was reduced to bones and artefact typology, and was often problematic for the categorisation of burials whose remains did not correlate with assumptions concerning material culture (Hays-Gilpin 2000). To counteract this problem, feminist archaeologists challenged definitions to bring about awareness that gender is not an absolute to which individuals are predisposed by nature (see, for example Conkey with Williams 1991; Gero 1991; Gero & Conkey 1991b; Handsman 1991; Watson & Kennedy 1991). Proponents of this new approach questioned the usage of terminology in the field, citing 'sex' and 'gender' as two distinct phenomena, the first being a fact of biology, the second a dynamic product of culture and socialisation (Geller & Stockett 2006b; Gilchrist 1999; Hawkesworth 1997; Sørensen 2000). Accordingly, each individual was perceived as having a biological underpinning overlaid by a gendered veneer. In addition, notions of the dominant male and submissive female as naturalised roles, imperative from evolution, were disputed (Sørensen 1992; Geller & Stockett 2006b). With a new awareness concerning the discipline's limited grasp of gender and its role in the construction of prehistoric societies, feminist archaeologists persevered in reinterpreting the past.

However, whilst clarification and ensuing separation of the terms sex and gender proved an invaluable conceptual tool for approaching gender in prehistory, second wave theory was, in the main, still preoccupied with binary divisions. Within this framework, a focus on projecting women into prehistory had assumed that the examination of male roles was unnecessary, as men were already prevalent throughout the archaeological record (Gero & Conkey 1991a). Furthermore, scholars were beginning to question whether sex could strictly be defined as biologically determined (Butler 1990; 1993). Of equal concern to the study of social dynamics in the past at this time was an overwhelming tendency to favour gender over other possible influencing factors such as sexuality, age, class and ethnicity. Such analyses treated sexuality as the biological referent of gender, rather than examining it as a topic in its own right (Voss 2000). Moreover, each of these aspects constitute the body through which they are experienced, therefore, gender "...cannot be studied in isolation" (Hays-Gilpin 2000: 100). As has been demonstrated in more recent, Third Wave approaches (some of which will be examined below) such attributes are intertwined, each contributing to the creation and maintenance of social identity.

3.1.6 Feminism and Gender in Archaeology: Third Wave Theory

The theoretical transition from Second to Third Wave gender theory in archaeology began in the 1990's (Meskell 2002; Nelson 2006b) following the aforementioned publication of Gero & Conkey's (1991a) influential text. Themes in the development of Third Wave approaches have been characterised by an increased awareness concerning the plurality of gender and its relationship to physiological, material and social attributes in the formation and negotiation of identity. Accordingly, gender categories, previously recognised as diverse by second wavers, were now more widely approached as variable and potentially multiform. (Geller & Stocket 2006b). Out of this perspective arose the reinterpretation of sex as a socially constructed category and awareness of the need for investigation concerning the relationship between sex, sexuality and gender as experienced through the body (Geller & Stockett 2006b; Voss 2000). Others have noted that an individual's experience of being gendered alters throughout the lifecycle, coinciding with the aging process

(Bolger 2003; Gilchrist 1999; 2000; Sofaer 1997; 2004; 2006b; Sørensen 2004b). Furthermore, originating from the interdisciplinary field of gender studies, the conception of gender as performance (Butler 1990; 1993) has greatly influenced archaeological investigation of the material correlates of gender (Perry & Joyce 2001). Accordingly, gendered behaviours are understood as learned, conveyed and regulated through social apparatus over the course of the lifecycle (Butler 1990; 1993; Sofaer 1997; 2006b). For archaeology, implementation of this perspective has had the effect of destabilising binary assumptions regarding the construction of gender categories in prehistoric society (Perry & Joyce 2001).

Similarly, arising from an aversion to male-centred themes typical of first and second wave approaches, third wave revision of the masculinist perspective challenges the pervasive assumptions which surround 'maleness' and saturate archaeological discourse (Alberti 2006; Gilchrist 1999; Gutmann 1998; Knapp 1998a; 1998b; Treherne 1995; 1998). Overall, gender is understood as but one facet of identity which interacts with other dimensions of personhood (such as ethnicity, social position or age). Collectively these elements coalesce in the formation of 'embodied experience' (Clarke & Wilkie 2006: 333). For archaeology, this concept provides a means of interpreting the material record holistically, allowing for consideration of a person's experiences and motivations as a self-governing, social actor (Clarke & Wilkie 2006). Implementation of this perspective has enabled the overhaul of early approaches to the study of gender in prehistory. In this manner, third wave gender theory continues to challenge sceptics, making way for further advances in the ever developing field of archaeology.

3.1.7 The Body, Identity and Material Culture in Gendered Perspective

In the study of identity, material culture, specifically that which is associated with the body, has been considered indicative of socially constructed concepts such as gender, sex and ethnicity (Fisher & DiPaolo Loren 2003). Due to their accessibility and association with burials, costume and ornamental items offer a glimpse of the relationship between object and individual through which multiple meanings were

conveyed. Consequently, a greater set of questions has arisen concerning social practice, agency, embodiment and the construction of personhood in prehistory. Archaeology as a discipline has generally taken as its focus groups of people at the expense of the individual (Meskell 1999). In this sense, through archaeological enquiry, a single body is deemed representative of the social whole, or what Lynn Meskell refers to as 'the society-in-microcosm model' (1999). Here she highlights two ways in which the prehistoric body is perceived from an archaeological perspective: 'the body as artefact' and 'the body as scene of display'. In the first, human remains are treated as items of material culture with the view (most often pertaining to Neolithic studies) that they were handled thusly by members of prehistoric society (Meskell 1999), or as objects situated within a cultural landscape, devoid of embodiment or personhood (Meskell 2000b). This leads to the second, in which the exterior body, its representations, as well as items placed on or associated with it, are examined as indicators of social structure, whilst factors pertaining to personal identity and lived experience of the body go unconsidered (Meskell 1999). In this view, Meskell contradicts Marie Louise Sørensen (1997; 2000), positing that her focus on the external potential of the body to display identity through manipulation of dress and ornamentation is superficial. Whilst Sørensen's approach centres upon identity as viewed and determined by larger factors functioning within the social group (see section 4.1.2 of Chapter 4 for further discussion), Meskell urges that an outward reading is incomplete unless complimented by deliberation of the personal motivations which compel agents individually. In her critique she calls for a more thorough reading of the body which would consider internal processes vital to the construction of identity and the mechanisms of its communication (Meskell 1999).

Similarly, in a review of earlier theoretical models used for discussion of the body in archaeology, Rosemary Joyce (2005) calls attention to two dominant but related ideas: the body as a canvas enabling visual presentation of various aspects of identity and the resultant dichotomy of this philosophy, which sees the body as divided into outer, culturally active surface, and invisible interior, where the pre-existing identity is housed. This, Joyce (2005) states, is no longer a productive way of thinking about

the body. Therefore, some archaeologists have recently begun to consider the body as a unified entity through which ideology, repetition and practices of modification and consumption are expressed and experienced, mediated by material culture, in a lifelong process of embodiment. Ultimately, identity and personhood are created and felt through bodily experience. A person may display identity through manipulation of physical appearance; however, the body is also shaped (culturally, physiologically and neurologically) through these practices, as well as by the resultant way in which a person is socially perceived in a particular time and space:"...the biological person is both the medium and product of social action" (Joyce 2005: 142).

Delving deeper still into the physical self, Joanna Sofaer (2000b; 2006a; 2006b) looks to all that often remains of a person for archaeological inspection, the skeletal body, suggesting that gender is more than what may be seen and interpreted on the surface. Inaccessible but for bone and material culture, social constructs, as they may have been experienced by thinking and feeling people's of the past, are interpreted according to the objects they made and used everyday. As a result, there exists a much disputed division between sex (being biologically determined) and gender (culturally composed) into which human remains are commonly categorised, neither definition accounting for sex as a culturally faceted concept or gender as one which may also manifest physiologically (Sofaer 2006a; 2006b). Sofaer (2006a) proposes a rethinking of the body as material culture, thereby exposing the physical affects of gender's socially enforced prescription on the malleable skeletal frame. As such, through the lifelong undertaking of repetitive tasks, each assigned with respect to socially predetermined ideals regarding which activities are appropriate according to gender, the bones are warped or shifted from their natural position—spinal columns become deformed, joints made arthritic. Thus, a person's shape, preserved in bone, is determined by gender ideology, making this approach a sound balance against which to weigh the bias of gender-artefact assumption in the examination of individual burials.

Analysis of skeletal evidence from the early Neolithic site, Abu Hureyra, in Syria, demonstrates this principle. Among the remains of forty-four females certain

deformities were consistently present in the bone. These, it was determined, were caused by repetition of activities intensely demanding on the body (Molleson 1994). Quern stones and grain husks indicate the processing of cereals, a job conducted whilst kneeling with the toes bent forward for leverage. Through the constant milling action, undertaken from an early age, particular areas of the skeletal system were ground, pivoted and subjected to continuous stress. Over time this left markers on the bone in the form of multiple physiological injuries and alterations, particularly to the arms, back, thighs, knees and big toes (Molleson 1994). Arthritis, enlarged joint surfaces resulting from the application of prolonged pressure, damaged vertebrae of the lower spine and overdevelopment in areas of muscle attachment on the humerus and radius were all common among such individuals, generally found to be female. Comparative analysis of these females with individuals possessing larger metatarsal bones (males) determined that the work of preparing grain was that of women, the extent of the damage intimating this task was undertaken from girlhood (Molleson 1994). Likewise, it was noted that other female skeletons showed a further differing deterioration, indicating the later development of groups specialising in the manufacture of specific products, basket weaving for instance, suggested by distinctive wear patterns on the teeth. Thus, over a lifespan these gendered labours permanently altered the physical self, leaving signs of their recurring execution, thereby providing an alternative method for determining the sex of human remains in cases where task differentiation has been previously identified (Molleson 1994; see Claassen 1997 and Sofaer Derevenski 2000b for further examples of skeletal alteration through performance of repetitive gendered behaviours).

3.1.8 Aging, Identity and the Life Course in Prehistory

In the past, as with the subject of gender in prehistory, archaeology has tended to approach age from the position of homogeneity, comfortable in the assumption that those processes and transitions connected to aging have been continually shared by individuals irrespective of time and cultural differences (Gilchrist 2004; Gowland 2006). Early examinations which involved aging in archaeology came about as a consequence of second wave feminism. Second wave approaches considered

children for the first time, but strictly within the context of their perceived association with women and women's work. Age and aging did not emerge as a viable topic of analysis until the third wave, when theoretical developments rooted in gender studies lead archaeologists to pursue a more wide ranging approach through analysis of additional factors relating to gender (Gilchrist 2004). What began as a focus on children (to be discussed further below) triggered the emergence of a more holistic approach which views age as a social process situated within cultural and historical context and connected to time, the body and identity (Gilchrist 2004).

In past analyses emphasis was placed on 'vertical status' and archaeologists were preoccupied with identifying evidence of social stratification as reflected in the material aspect of burials (Rega 1997). While cross cutting factors such as age and gender were of some interest, they were generally treated as impenetrable dimensions, more likely to distort observable patterns of social processes than to enrich archaeological investigations. However, as illustrated by Elizabeth Rega's (1997) examination of burials from the Early Bronze Age cemetery at Mokrin in Serbia, age at death must be considered a potentially important variable capable of enriching archaeological comprehension of societies in the past. Through demographic analysis, Rega (1997) demonstrates that age was a significant factor in determining who among the community was to receive burial in this particular cemetery. Thus, age seems to have been of considerable importance among the variables which influenced perceptions of personhood in Mokrin society, as was most certainly the case (to varying degrees) in other cultures throughout prehistory (Bolger 2003; Joyce 2000a; King 2006; Sofaer Derevenski 1997; 2000b; Stoodley 2000; Sørensen 2004b).

Three dimensions—physiological, chronological and social—which recognize the mechanisms involved in the process and experience of aging have been identified (Gowland 2006; Halcrow & Tayles 2008; Lewis 2007). Nevertheless, rather than employ this model in the exploration of identity and past human experience, it has been (however inadvertently) misappropriated toward the validation of modern Western perceptions of the life course. Many mortuary analyses have neglected to

consider age in terms relevant to the past, opting instead to employ categories which divide the evidence according to definitions that are generally perceived to be valid in contemporary Western culture, but are not necessarily applicable to perceptions of age identity and the aging process in prehistoric societies (Halcrow & Tayles 2008). The application of terminology such as infant, adolescent, young adult, etc. to the study of the past is inappropriate in that they are not only connected to biological age, but also influence understanding in regard to age linked characteristics like social roles and behaviours (Halcrow & Tayles 2008; Lewis 2007). Though valued in modern Western society, understandings and attitudes toward the stages of social and biological development were undoubtedly greatly varied from culture to culture through time and vastly different from our own (Gowland 2006). Furthermore, though sharing a degree of similarity in some cases, the transitions which would have been recognised as defining, the behaviours and social roles considered appropriate to them and the extent to and method through which these were marked, is vastly diverse (Gowland 2006).

Even to assume that human biology (let alone how it is culturally perceived) has existed in a sort of stasis, consistent in the timing of the physical transformations that take place throughout an individual's life, is problematic (Laurence 2000). The timing of biological transitions would not only have impacted upon the way a person experienced his/her physical development, but would also have affected the way individuals were socialised and perceived in prehistoric society. For instance, it is very likely the case that prehistoric peoples were subject to a slower rate of physical development than those populating contemporary Western societies, thus they would have reached biological maturity at a later age (Laurence 2000; Lucy 2005). Although the degree to which this applies would vary from culture to culture through time, the possibility demonstrates that even something which seems as straightforward as biology cannot be taken for granted if we are to construct a clear picture of human experience in the past (Lucy 2005). Moreover, as biological development impacts upon the way in which the life course is measured and transitions are marked (Gilchrist 2000), it is essential that it be taken into account when investigating aging. In addition, consideration of physiological growth in this

manner could also shed light on further crosscutting aspects of identity such as gender and status (Laurence 2000).

However, aging is not just about the physiological changes that take place in the body; there is also a cultural component which imbues these transformative stages with meaning, determining which stages were considered culturally relevant and how they were marked symbolically (Gowland 2006; Stoodley 2000; Sørensen 2004b). An individual's socially constructed age identity may not have necessarily been equated with his/her biological rate of development (Gowland 2006; Stoodley 2000). Additionally, these stages and the way in which they were represented have a further significance in that they were intimately involved in constructing and demarcating the passage of time (Sofaer Derevenski 2000b). Investigating these transitions and how they were signified, then, can facilitate an awareness of how time was perceived in prehistory (Sofaer Derevenski 2000b). The life course trajectory is involved in the construction of time and encompasses both cultural thresholds and physical changes recognised as normal in a particular society (Kamp 2006). The concepts enmeshed in a culture's life course trajectory determine what behaviours are expected for different age categories; therefore, studying evidence of this (mortuary data being the most accessible and commonly used toward this purpose) can help archaeologists to develop a working knowledge of these stages and, thus, the society that conceived them (Kamp 2006). Although not originally accepted as worthy subject matter, the stage most commonly investigated in isolation has been that which concerns the period of childhood (Gilchrist 2004).

3.1.9 'A perceived invisibility': Investigating Children and Childhood in Archaeology

Archaeological interest in children was first sparked by the feminist movement to incorporate women into archaeological narratives (Halcrow & Tayles 2008). Although archaeology has more recently begun to investigate childhood in the past as a serious topic of enquiry, prior to the 1980's there was little concern for the integration of children or childhood into research frameworks (Baxter 2005a).

Subsequent to the emergence of childhood as a viable focus of analysis, early investigations primarily featured children in one of two roles. In the first, they were introduced as an explanation for "...the presence of otherwise 'uninterpretable' artefact categories at archaeological sites", such as small or seemingly miniature items, generally construed to be toys (Baxter 2005a: 8). In the second, children were employed as a 'cautionary tale', highlighting their propensity to interact with material culture in untraditional ways and indicating their activities as a potential contributor to the formation of the archaeological record (Baxter 2005a: 9).

An outgrowth having derived from the development of gender theory, childhood was not pursued by the discipline as a serious topic in its own right until the 1990's, (Lewis 2007). At this time, children were "… moved from the realm of women's work to participating and active agents in the past with their own social identity, material culture, and influence on the physical environment around them" (Lewis 2007:1). This was sparked by the publication of Grete Lillehammers's (1989) pivotal paper *A child is born. The child's world in an archaeological perspective,* which has since been cited as the genesis of childhood analyses in the discipline (Baxter 2005a; Schwartzman 2006). Although Lillehammer (1989) recognizes the import of investigating children as part of developing a comprehensive archaeological narrative and the consequential impairment that their exclusion from analyses has engendered, her work is weakened by an approach which equates children with toys and accepts the notion that "…children had to be 'found' in the archaeological record" (Halcrow & Tayles 2008: 10). Likewise, Mary Lewis (2007) points out that early studies which sought to access evidence of childhood in the past were flawed in that they continued to situate children in a passive role, unwilling to view them separately from an association with women predominantly held in contemporary Western culture.

Archaeological analyses have tended to be adult-centric in their view of the past, focussing entirely on adult life, whilst leaving out any experiences or contributions involving members of the population not considered to have been major participants in terms of cultural development, such as children and the elderly (Baxter 2005a; Gilchrist 2004; Sofaer Derevenski 1994). As a result, adulthood has been

homogenised whilst other developmental stages in the life course went neglected (Gowland 2006). Until recently, children were seldom considered in archaeological analyses, as they are commonly difficult to locate in the mortuary record, often appearing only sporadically in contrast to the high proportion of adults (Gilchrist 2004; Sofaer Derevenski 1994). In such cases it may be that children were interred elsewhere or were subject to an alternative funerary rite; however, it is also the case that the skeletal remains of children tend to be more fragile and therefore subject to a greater degree of degradation, making them less likely to survive over long periods of time (Gilchrist 2004; Lewis 2007). Nonetheless, it is also the case that archaeology has suffered from the effects of limited perception in regard to comprehending how children would have been defined by their communities in the past, what activities they might have participated in and what vestiges might be examined as evidence of their contributions (Sofaer Derevenski 1994; 2000d).

Archaeology defines adults as sexually mature individuals, whilst children acquire their status as such in relation to adults (Sofaer Derevenski 1994), resulting in a binary categorization which sets adults in opposition to all pre-pubescent individuals (Halcrow & Tayles 2008; Sofaer Derevenski 1997). Similarly, material culture associated with the remains of children in a mortuary context has, in the past, been consistently interpreted in connection with adults (Sofaer Derevenski 2000d). Consequently this approach stems from a tendency to view children, regardless of cultural or historical context, as a homogenous group possessing all of the characteristics and behaviours attributed to children in contemporary Western society (Gilchrist 2004; Sofaer Derevenski 1994; 2000d). Roberta Gilchrist (2000; 2004) and Joanna Sofaer Derevenski (1997; 2000d; 2000b) caution against applying age categories and the conceptualization of age groups valid in modern Western culture to the examination of cultures in the past, as stages within the life course were undoubtedly different, making contemporary ideas regarding age and social development invalid to the analysis of prehistory. Furthermore, children were probably thought of as being economic contributors who participated in various tasks within the community from an early age (Baxter 2005a 2005c; Lucy 2005; Smith 2005; Sofaer Derevenski 1997), whilst in modern Western countries children are

treated as precious, passive and dependent. This is reiterated by terminology which has consistently been used throughout the literature; designations like ‘juvenile’, ‘sub-adult’ and ‘non-adult’ imply that those individuals who did not reach adulthood were somehow deficient (Halcrow & Tayles 2008; Lewis 2007). Moreover, archaeology’s employment of the Western term ‘child’ in reference to mortuary remains (Sofaer Derevenski 1997) implies a ‘universal biological category’ (Sofaer Derevenski 2000d: 8). That adulthood is equated with skeletal and reproductive maturity, causes all other individuals not meeting this criteria to appear less relevant regardless of their cultural context, personal autonomy or motivations (Sofaer Derevenski 2000d).

Related to this is a debate, which, in regard to the furthering of archaeology’s knowledge of childhood and aging, pits the examination of skeletal remains against social analysis, suggesting that the contributions of one approach are more relevant than those of the other (Halcrow & Tayles 2008; Lewis 2007). In response, Siân Halcrow and Nancy Tayles (2008) advocate an approach which integrates bioarchaeological analysis with social aspects of aging in prehistoric contexts as a means of accessing children in the past. Similarly, Megan Perry argues that “delineating culturally appropriate age grades in skeletal samples [through a linkage of biological and cultural data] may assist archaeologists and biological anthropologists in identifying children and understanding childhood in the past” (2006: 89). In addition, this approach also has the potential to free perceptions of children and childhood from the biologically dependant characterisations of contemporary Western society and, in turn, to resolve the problematic opposition between the often used categories ‘child’ and ‘adult’ (Perry 2006).

More recently the issue of examining childhood as part of developing more inclusive archaeological narratives has become accepted as significant, resulting in the generation of considerable research which seeks to investigate the archaeological record from the perspective of children as autonomous actors possessing a social identity and personal motivations (see Baxter 2005a; 2006; Kamp 2001; 2006; Schwartzman 2006; Sofaer Derevenski 1994; 2000c; Moor & Scott 1997; Smith

2006). This has led to further theoretical advancements, such as the recognition that an intersection exists between gender and childhood studies in archaeology, intimately linking one to the other (Baxter 2005a). Cultural knowledge, including appropriate age and gender related behaviours, is passed down through a process of socialisation beginning at birth (Baxter 2005a; 2005b); therefore, "...gender and gendered behaviours are age related" (Sofaer Derevenski 1997: 876). Through this process children are introduced to cultural knowledge comprising what it means to be a person in their particular culture, and are taught accepted roles which form the basis of social organisation (Baxter 2005b). A key component involved in this indoctrination is material culture. Through interaction with various socially approved objects children are active in their own socialisation (Baxter 2005a) and learn the prescribed gender roles and behaviours considered appropriate to them (Sofaer Derevenski 1997). This is well illustrated by Rosemary Joyce's (2000a) examination of the socialisation process of children in ancient Mesoamerican culture. Via the ritualised use of material culture, specifically ornamental objects and items of clothing, children were gradually socialised into the social and gender roles recognised by Aztec society (Joyce 2000a). Throughout a child's life, stages in development considered to be significant were recognised during ceremonial events in the course of which all children within the community having reached this transition were marked, pierced, or garbed in preparation for the future adult roles and gender identities they would assume approximately around the time of their early teens (Joyce 2000a). In combination with the timely introduction of certain responsibilities and behaviours that would eventually become habitual, children were prepared for and shaped into their 'adult destiny[s]' (Joyce 2000a: 478). As stated by Jane Baxter "...an archaeology of childhood is essential for understanding the process of gender, as gender is essential for understanding the nature of childhood socialization" (2005a: 3). Entwined with myriad other aspects which determine identity, the inclusion of children and childhood in archaeological investigations is essential to developing an informed narrative of the past.

3.1.10 Through a Telescopic Lens: the Study of Aging in Archaeology

What began as a focus on children, or rather the initial stages of human life, has led to the emergence of a broader approach aimed at examining the developmental stages which take place throughout an individual's existence and how the process and experience of aging varied and was perceived from culture to culture (Gilchrist 2000). Furthermore, it has been recognised that age, as a facet of personhood, is crosscut by myriad other social factors related to the formation and maintenance of identity such as gender and ethnicity (Gilchrist 2000; Sofaer Derevenski 1997). Drawing from sociological research, two approaches have largely been applied to the study of aging in archaeology: the life course approach and the cohort approach (Gowland 2006). In the latter, the term cohort refers to a group of people who are born around the same period and live out their lives in the same span of time (Gowland 2006). Through this approach the life spans of those investigated are viewed as having been segmented into developmental stages or age grades. This can be a useful method of investigating age in prehistory, as it recognises the potential variability which undoubtedly existed in terms of how the aging process and particular stages therein were experienced by individual cohorts through time (Gowland 2006). However, this approach is not without its shortcomings and can be problematic, as mortuary remains, the primary evidence for the conceptualisation of aging in prehistory, will not necessarily be indicative of an age group's experiences; though there may be several individuals of the same age buried in a cemetery it is unlikely to be the case that they all experienced the same developmental stages at corresponding times (Gowland 2006). Furthermore, it has been argued that this approach is susceptible to regarding cohorts as corresponding in structure because those sharing a cohort are of the same age (Gowland 2006). Consequently, certain age grades are perceived as possessing particular characteristics despite the differences likely to exist between members, such as gender or social position, and how that might influence an individual's experience of day to day life (Gowland 2006).

In contrast, the life course approach views the life span through a telescopic lens, envisioning age as a continuous process both social and biological, and the transformations involved as culturally relative. However, linked to this approach are two opposing methodologies. Gilchrist distinguishes between the 'life-course model' and the 'life cycle model' stating that the former advocates "...a 'longitudinal' approach which examines trajectory and transition across the continuum of human life, and which situates the human life span within social measures of time" (2004: 156), whilst the latter seems to depict age and the changes which take place throughout the life span from a strictly biological perspective, insinuating a universal standard of human development. The life course approach considers age and the experiences associated with aging as culturally dependant, socially constructed and subject to historical context (Sofaer Derevenski 2000b). Conversely, the term 'life cycle' implies that the pattern and timing of human development and, therefore, the way such transitions are experienced, are invariable in nature despite obvious cultural differences and the lengthy passage of time separating contemporary Western culture from societies in antiquity. Developed in the 1980's by sociologists, when employed in the investigation of prehistoric peoples it is possible that the life course approach could reveal socially constructed age identities beyond the contemporary notions of gender and age which structure Western society (Gilchrist 2004).

The fact that age and aging has been generally undertheorised by archaeologists implies that age is viewed as a purely biological aspect of identity (Gilchrist 2004). Just as childhood and age are linked, so too is the aging process crosscut by a profusion of other social factors through the life course. Furthermore, these facets are, in essence, connected through their composition as socially constructed elements which, when combined, comprise individual and group identity and are instrumental in the formation of life experiences (Gilchrist 2004). Current research investigating the role of the life course in mapping a person's identity demonstrates that age is no more a purely biological concept than are gender, sexuality or ethnicity, factors which are largely informed by cultural perceptions (Joyce 2000a; Gilchrist 2000; 2004; Gowland 2006; Lucy 2005; Sofaer Derevenski 1997; 2000b). As with the

study of gender in archaeological contexts, Sofaer Derevenski (1997) urges that the life course be perceived as a process. Through this approach the associations connecting age to other aspects of identity (be they visible archaeologically) may be more readily identified.

Likewise, as gender involves the achievement of learning specific cultural knowledge and behaviours through time, from an individual's birth to their eventual death, and since each gender may experience the lifecycle differently, gender is thoroughly entangled with the process of aging (Gilchrist 2004; Sofaer Derevenski 1997). In addition, as argued by Gilchrist, analysis of the life course in the past could enrich archaeological understanding of gender, the process of becoming and the experience of being gendered in prehistoric societies, by adding further dimensions such as that of 'time and memory' (2004: 156) to analyses. Similarly, Sofaer Derevenski (1997) suggests that the concept of the life course and its role in engendering the individual may be of use in removing the investigation of gender from archaeology's long held preoccupation with the binary categorisation of material culture and the superficial equation of gender with biological sex. "[B]ecause individuals grow up and grow old within social contexts age cannot be reduced to the 'simple passage of time'" (Gowland 2006: 143).

It is through the role of material culture in the social construction of the life course that transitions are marked out enabling individuals to be socialised into their proper age and gender related identities (Joyce 2000a; Sofaer Derevenski 2000b). Objects of an ornamental nature or items of clothing may be employed in facilitating this process (Joyce 2000a; Laurence 2000; Sofaer Derevenski 2000b; Sørensen 2004b), but also equipment such as weaponry or grooming implements (Stoodley 2000; Sørensen 2004a), with certain objects marking out specific age grades in some cases (Gilchrist 2000). Moreover, it may be that these items were loaded with multifarious levels of significance and were intended to concurrently symbolise numerous interrelated aspects of identity (Sofaer Derevenski 1997). From an early age, specific items of material culture may be introduced as the process of socialisation is begun. In this way objects play a pivotal role in teaching children the behaviours and

activities that will make them into embodied adults. Through continual interaction with these objects in daily life children acquire cultural knowledge related to the symbolic meanings of each item (Baxter 2005a; Lucy 2005; Sofaer Derevenski 1994). As each successive developmental threshold has been reached, changes in age, social roles and the body are met by changes in the material culture with which one is associated (Sofaer Derevenski 1997). Such alterations, be they gradual or sudden (Sofaer Derevenski 2000b), would have affected both self and public perceptions (Lucy 2005 Sofaer Derevenski 2000b), signalling an aptitude for, or readiness to take on, certain characteristics and responsibilities, effectively ushering an individual into his or her new social role (Lucy 2005). In essence, objects mediate "...the culturally specific relationship between biological and social change" (Sofaer Derevenski 2000b: 402).

Objects laden with symbolism and utilised during an individual's life may be placed with him/her in death. As such they not only signalled transformations and social knowledge among the living members of society, but also functioned in an additional role as intermediaries between the living and the dead (Sofaer Derevenski 2000b). Thus, material culture provides an observable means by which stages in the life course may have been indicated and the life course measured. It is for this reason that these objects, their placement in the mortuary context and the remains with which they are associated are best able to inform archaeological investigations as to socially constructed meanings and identities which operated in the past. Through the examination of mortuary remains it may be possible to interpret social meanings pertaining to age and gender and, thereby, reconstruct the life course as it was experienced by individuals in prehistory (Sofaer Derevenski 2000b). Furthermore, by investigating the mortuary record it may be possible to identify specific artefacts which were instrumental in the demarcation of particular stages in the life course as well as discerning age grade membership (Gilchrist 2000; Sofaer Derevenski 2000b). However, Rebecca Gowland (2006) mentions that it must be considered that not only did the deceased experience aging and alteration of identity through life, so too did the principal mourners. Shifts in the condition of burial could be indicative of identity transitions among those bereaved peripheral to the deceased rather than the

subject represented in the funerary ritual. She also posits that representation of aspects of the deceased's identity and/or the dominant social ideology is not necessarily the only intention which determines how a burial is staged (Gowland 2006). Depending upon the relationship of the living to the deceased, it may have been the case that material culture was used to undermine established conventions (Gowland 2006). Therefore, investigation of material culture in mortuary contexts could potentially reveal not only the relationship of the objects to the deceased but may also speak to the perceptions and identities of the mourners as well as their relationship to the dead.

Through the exploration of childhood and the life course, archaeologists have demonstrated that how people perceived the aging process in prehistory varies widely and was determined by a number of interrelated social and biological factors, particularly cultural and historical context (Gilchrist 2004). Examination of the ways in which other facets of identity, such as gender and status, may impact upon an individual's experience of the life course and, furthermore, how material culture may be involved in its construction, has alerted archaeology to the dangers of unilateral thinking. Whilst an initial focus upon children gave rise to the life course model in archaeology, this approach continues to grow in popularity (Gowland 2006), and has so far been employed in the exploration of various cultures in the past from Copper Age Hungary (Sofaer Derevenski 1997) and Anglo Saxon England (Stoodly 2000) to Ancient Rome (Harlow & Laurence 2002) and New Kingdom Egypt (Meskell 1999). Recognition that aging is not simply biological, but is also a social process, vital to the formation of identity, has liberated this topic of enquiry from the traditional perspective in which it is cast as an invariable, universal consequence of human physiology. Furthermore, these analyses have proven and continue to demonstrate that a consideration of aging and application of the life course approach is integral to developing a more comprehensive archaeological narrative.

3.1.11 Prioritising Sexual Variability in the Archaeological Past

Recent archaeological investigation of sexuality aims at exploring the social organisation and variability of sexualities, practices and behaviours in antiquity (Schmidt & Voss 2000). Sex, sexuality and gender are terms which have often been used synonymously in the documentation of prehistory. It follows, therefore, that sex has been treated as fundamentally innate, static and universally uniform. As a result, sexuality has become subsumed in biological impulse, strictly expressed between husband and wife as a means of procreation (Schmidt & Voss 2000). The redefinition of sex and gender as two separate concepts, the first biological, the second cultural, was challenged by Judith Butler (1990; 1993), who noted that the sexed body is more than just a passive canvas onto which gender is grafted. Furthermore, to address sex and gender in this manner is to insinuate that both are invariably fixed in time and space (Butler 1990). Rather, Butler describes gender as "...a shifting and contextual phenomenon" (1990: 10) and sex as "...an ideal construct which is forcibly materialized through time" (1993: 2). Through the repetitious performance of socially regulated rituals in ceremonial and day-to-day life, gendered behaviours become embedded, naturalised and embodied. In this light, binary genders and heterosexual desires are normalised rather than normal and are, therefore, dependent upon the mimicry of institutionalised practices for their regeneration (Butler 1990). The performance of gender involves numerous outlets including the manipulation of dress and objects (Butler 1990; Sofaer 2007; Sørensen 1991; 1997; 2006). Thus, being among the primary evidence explored by archaeologists as indicators of social organisation, drawing from Butler's theoretical position, gendered performance in prehistory may be elucidated through examination of material culture and traces of human activity (Perry & Joyce 2001).

Like early gender archaeology, to advance the study of sexuality in the past, a clear delineation of essential terminology was necessary. Connected but divergent, sex, gender and sexuality form discrete concepts. Sexuality may be informed by sex and/or gender but neither ultimately determines its character or expression (Butler 1990; 1993; Schmidt & Voss 2000). An overhaul of the archaeological dialogue

pertaining to sexuality and sex-gender constructs was also essential. The conception of heterosexual behaviour as normative and oppositional, making all other proclivities aberrant, is deeply rooted in Western society. Modern classifications such as heterosexual, homosexual, bisexual, gay, lesbian and so forth, define individuals on the basis of their preferred sexual partners (Meskell 1999). In such a system gender and sexuality are inseparable, sexuality and identity the same. Whilst modern categories can be a useful tool, informing archaeological understanding of sexual behaviour in the past, they are unlikely to have had the same relevance and must not be imposed on individuals in prehistory (Schmidt & Voss 2000). Though applicable in a contemporary setting, these labels can provide only a limited perspective, historically as well as culturally, and must be employed with great care (Voss 2006). Meskell (1999) argues that sexual constructions and behaviours are context specific and should be investigated as such. While an awareness of sexual preferences existed in antiquity, sexuality was understood as practice, not necessarily dictating a person's individual character (Meskell 1999).

From its inception, archaeology has largely followed a heterosexual agenda, visualising the past as a backdrop against which the wholesome nuclear family lived and worked and procreated. In this scenario the principles that constitute society-relationships, kinship organisation and social structure-mirror our own 'normal' lives (Dowson 2000). However, sexuality is more complex than reproduction or an individual's choice of sexual partner (Meskell 1999). Queer theory, an offshoot of gender and sexuality in archaeological enquiry, aims at subverting this perspective, rejecting the use of contemporary categories, which, in classifying sexual behaviours, render all non-heteronormative activities deviant (Voss 2000). Instead, classification and treatment of those individuals and behaviours as unnatural is problematised, the designation 'queer' referring to a perspective in which "...what is 'normative' is actually constructed through reference to deviance" (Voss 2000: 6).

Critics of sexuality's place in archaeological discourse question the accessibility of evidence relating to sexual activity in the archaeological record. However, arguing for the role of culture in the construction of sexuality, proponents contend that the

tendency to overlook sexuality leads only to murky interpretation (Schmidt & Voss 2000). The archaeological record consists of the material remains left behind by the activities of social agents in prehistory. Though sexual activity itself may not be easily traceable, sexual behaviours, practices and ideologies can be perceived in the form of representational art or through objects which would have been associated with such acts. If sexuality like other culturally constructed elements of social organisation is part of an interwoven system (Schmidt & Voss 2000) which informs every aspect of daily life, it should be afforded no less significance. This has been demonstrated by Meskell and Joyce (2003) in a recent examination of embodiment and personhood in ancient Mayan and Egyptian cultures. Sexuality shapes and is shaped by other factors that influence social behaviour, for example economy, political configuration, class divisions, ethnicity, kinship and community organisation (Meskell 1999). New methods aimed at ascertaining its place within the cultural system should therefore be developed (Schmidt & Voss 2000).

3.1.12 Reconceptualising the 'Masculinist' Approach

In seeking to detect prehistoric women, feminist scholarship in archaeology had essentialised men by relegating them to a single universal, 'gender neutral' category (Alberti 2006; Knapp 1998a; Joyce 2004). Associated with the subversion of female identity in archaeological reconstructions, masculinity had become synonymous with androcentrism. However, most depictions of men in prehistory were designed around idealised stereotypes of normative male behaviour (Alberti 2006). Furthermore, it follows that having been ever present in reconstructions of the past, masculinity had become assumed—there could be no need to interrogate what had always been there (Alberti 2006). However, men too are gendered persons "...thus in a similar manner it seems important to consider the state of efforts aimed at the historical recovery of women in the archaeological record in order to help determine whether and how to include men-as-men as research subjects in future digs and analyses" (Gutman 1998:113).

To this end, Bernard Knapp calls for the redefinition of masculinist approaches as those that "...define or categorise both a contemporary social movement and an academic position, each of which attempts to formulate the masculine subject" (1998a: 365; 1998b: 92). Moreover, taking a cue from feminist theory in archaeology, masculinist approaches advocate departure from binary frameworks, investigating masculine constructs as varying and diverse (Knapp 1998a). To speak of 'Masculine' versus 'Feminine' or 'Male' in opposition to 'Female' is to promote the culturally specific delusion of monolithic gender categories as natural, universal and timeless (Knapp 1998b). Masculinity, then, is not a singular essence which defines every male, but rather, as has been stressed by feminist scholars in regard to gender, is characterised by plurality. What is more, masculinist approaches stress the potential for a multiplicity of masculinities as well as femininities in prehistory (Knapp 1998b). In this light, it is argued that the development of masculinist theory in archaeology is a product of feminist scholarship (Knapp 1998b). Thus, proponents of masculinist analysis are not involved in the promotion of chauvinistic hierarchies, calling instead for a gender archaeology whose theoretical framework engages all manner of gender identities, including masculinity in its many forms.

Though he would almost certainly not consider his a masculinist approach (see Treherne's response to Knapp 1998b), Paul Treherne's (1995) analysis of warriorhood, male identity and embodiment in the Danish Bronze Age examines themes central to masculinist theory as outlined by Knapp (1998a; 1998b). His focus on the alteration of the male body as a vital component of masculine identity and warrior ideology demonstrates the value of analyses which undertake masculinities as their focus. (see Chapter 4 section 4.1.3 for further discussion). Similarly, Rosemary Joyce (2000b) examines masculinity and sexuality as depicted in Classic Mayan art. In paintings, anthropomorphic figures and sculptural reliefs, the male body is presented as a sensualised object of beauty, predominantly exposed, highly adorned and well muscled. Furthermore, a less common, though not unusual image, that of the erect penis, as it appears alone, in connection with a masculine figure (perhaps engaged in masturbation), or in a scene of embrace between two figures, seems to explicitly sexualise the male body. Joyce describes the content of these

images, many being scenes of large groups of males (some of which depict scantily clad young men in athletic competition before a powerful male spectator), as homoerotic in character (Joyce 2000b; Joyce & Meskell 2003). In contrast, when female representations appear, their bodies are almost entirely concealed. Overall, the images suggest that within Classic Mayan society, the display of youthful able-bodied males was pleasing to other men and was perhaps an institutionalised part of elite culture. Furthermore, the dearth of imagery depicting heterosexual intercourse contrasted with the prevalence of homoeroticism in visual display implies that, among young men, it was customary to appreciate the physique of their fellow males (Joyce 2000b; Joyce & Meskell 2003).

In examining men in prehistory practitioners of masculinist theory do not set their subject apart as a sub-discipline, rather they wish to integrate current masculinist approaches with feminist theory in the pursuit of a gendered archaeology (Knapp 1998b). In spite of this, one of the greatest challenges to investigating men in prehistory is of a political nature, in that masculinist aims may at once seem to threaten to undermine the progress pioneered by feminist intervention in the discipline (Gutman 1998). However, these and other examples (see, for instance, section 4.2.4 of Chapter 4 for Yates 1993; 2000 examination of neutered figures in rock art of the Danish Bronze Age) demonstrate the potential applications of a masculinist approach, as implemented by both male and female archaeologists within the framework established by feminist scholarship.

3.1.13 From Gender to Personhood: Accessing the Individual Through Feminist Approaches in Archaeology

The main pursuit of early gender theory in archaeology was that of exposing male bias in the discipline. This was a necessary place to begin revision of archaeological narratives through the formulation of objectives which would guide the development of gender theory. It was the particular focus of first and second wave approaches which progressed from introducing women (Albers & Medicine 1983; Bertelsen et al 1987) to highlighting their contributions (Dahlberg 1981; Gero 1991; Joyce 1992; Tanner & Zilman 1976; Watson & Kennedy 1991; Wright 1991; 1996b) and

investigating the origins of a proposed universal female subjugation (Ortner 1974; Risaldo 1974); it also redefined what it means to be gendered verses sexed (Conkey & Gero 1991; Moore 1994). Assumptions regarding gender in the past had, to this point, persisted without scrutiny. However, though successful in dispelling popular myths such as 'Man the Hunter' and biological determinism, early gender archaeology operated on its own set of assumptions; for instance, it perpetuated the belief that gender is, in essence, binary and that all men are essentially comprised of the same characteristics.

The surmounting of these shortcomings marks the theoretical transition to third wave approaches in gender archaeology. In revaluating the use of oppositional models in archaeological research, proponents of gender theory were able to recognise the potential for a multiplicity of gender categories in prehistoric societies. This unavoidably extended to reconsideration of the feminist treatment of masculinity and its pursuit in archaeological investigation. A truly gendered archaeology must recognise that concepts of masculinity and maleness may also be part of a culture's ideology. As demonstrated by Knapp (1998a; 1998b), Joyce (2000b; Joyce & Meskell 2003) and Treherne (1995), a masculinist approach does not necessarily contradict the goals of feminist practice and, furthermore, may take inspiration from feminist theory in pursuit of the socially constructed, sexualised, male body (Joyce 2000b; 1996; Treherne 1995). As with gender, sex and sexuality were reconceptualised as social constructs, both numerous and variable. Barbara Voss's (2000; 2006) examination of sexual variability demonstrates how its consideration may enrich analysis of the past. Gender, like sexuality, is of cultural design, in many ways the two are linked, but also observable through cultural products.

The concept of gender as performance, pioneered by Butler (1990; 1993) has been highly influential in feminist theory, and has transformed the way archaeologists approach gender and sexuality. Early applications of feminist perspectives were not discerning of gender in their approach to reconstructing prehistory. As a result, feminist theory in archaeology was vulnerable to manipulation in support of grafting traditional sex/gender stereotypes onto the past, thereby reinforcing their appearance

as natural (Perry & Joyce 2001). However, Butler's argument regarding the performance of gender and the social mechanisms through which gendered behaviours are produced, has informed archaeological interpretation of material culture and highlighted the potential variability of sex/gender categories which may have existed in prehistoric societies (Perry & Joyce 2001). Sofaer's (2004; 2006a; 2006b; Sofaer Derevenski 2000a) approach to the body, as well as the work of Theya Molleson (1994) and Sandra Hollimon (1997), demonstrate how Butler's theory of gender performativity can be applied in archaeology. Sofaer's (2004; 2006a; 2006b; Sofaer Derevenski 2000a) approach to the body is useful in gendering previously unexamined remains, as has been demonstrated in Molleson's (1994) example from Abu Hureyra. Furthermore, as shown by Hollimon (1997), it may also be useful in the identification of non-normative gender categories.

Third wave gender archaeology views gender identity as interconnected with, and affected by, various other social factors as a part of personhood (Meskell & Joyce 2003). In the past, Archaeologists have assumed that the aging process, as experienced by people in prehistory, was purely aligned with physiological development and, furthermore, that all peoples would have been subject to the same rate of physiological growth (Gilchrist 2004; Gowland 2006). However, through the application of third wave approaches, archaeologists have come to approach aging as a facet of identity intimately linked to other factors such gender, sexuality, social roles and behaviours. As a lifelong process beginning at birth, significant transitions in the lifecycle would have been marked out, to varying degrees, through the use of material culture (Gilchrist 2000; 2004; Gowland 2006; Sofaer Derevenski 1997). Similarly, the construction and experience of personhood involves both internal motivations and external forces which converge through the use of material culture in negotiation and display (Clarke & Wilkie 2006; Meskell & Joyce 2003). Both Meskell (1999) and Sørensen's (1997; 2000) approaches to the body and exploration of the maintenance and display of identity through material culture, examine the role of cultural objects in the construction of gender. While Meskell argues for the consideration of internal motivations, Sørensen focuses on external processes. However, as Joyce (2005) points out, the debate concerning internal versus external

results in a division of the body, when in fact these perspectives may productively inform each other. Overall, consideration of these and other theories involved in the formation of personhood and the experience of being gendered offers an integral fragment of what has been missing from archaeological narratives of prehistoric society. Consequently, the introduction of feminist theory to archaeology has greatly enriched interpretation of the past.

3.2 The Argument for Gender in Bronze Age Denmark

Past examination of burials from the south Scandinavian Bronze Age has often derived from specious reasoning focussed on hierarchical factors of social organisation, viewing mortuary objects as a direct identifier of sex, wealth and status, or substantiating the presumed existence of a chiefdom based warrior aristocracy. Furthermore, studies pertaining to this period in Denmark have primarily followed a binary methodology, whereby gender stereotypes originating from the value system of contemporary Western culture are applied in deciphering the archaeological record. Amongst scholarship pertaining to the Danish Bronze Age traditional binary narratives dominate, extending to all aspects of social analysis. In the case of research originating from the first and second waves of feminist theory in archaeology, the focus was not on challenging traditional binary models, but rather uncovering women in Danish prehistory. However, many other investigations concerning the Danish Bronze Age (some of which will be outlined below) have viewed material from the mortuary record as evidence of a society organised by oppositional constructs. Thus, the binary perspective continues to be employed in social analyses, gendered or otherwise. Nevertheless, current research has shown development through the application of Third Wave approaches which have revealed the potential complexity of gender constructs that may be read from the archaeological record of Bronze Age Denmark. If we are to truly identify the intricate social mechanisms which structured Danish Bronze Age society, it is in this direction that archaeological research must proceed.

3.2.1 Gendering the Danish Bronze Age: Assumptions and Approaches

In a quantitative study of closed burial finds from the Early Bronze Age, Klaus Randsborg (1973) sought to demonstrate the stratified nature of Danish Bronze Age society and the differentiated value of men and women as evinced in their associated funerary goods. To this end, an estimated 10,000 items of bronze, presumed to have been personal property of the deceased, within five geographical zones of distribution (Bornholm, the Danish isles, northeast, northwest and southern Jylland) were weighed and their totals compared. From this Randsborg (1973) concluded that (a) most often burials containing gold also contained a higher quantity of bronze, (b) that male graves contain greater amounts of bronze and thereby gold than female graves and (c) that throughout the Early Bronze Age (most especially Period I) women are greatly under-represented in a burial record which is vastly populated with male graves (though the numbers do show a small increase over time). Thus, it was concluded that women, having a much lower rate of burial and metal wealth than their male counterparts, could only have occupied a position of lower status.

Rather than enriching archaeological understanding of communal life in the Danish Bronze Age, such assertions contribute to the creation of a one-dimensional prehistory. An object's weight does not fundamentally determine its value, nor does it necessarily indicate the social worth of its individual possessor; rather, its significance may be related to other aspects such as form (Pydyn 2000). This has been illustrated for Central and Northern Europe, where it has been argued that while bronze itself was of substantial value, it did not acquire its true social worth until crafted into a specific configuration (Pydyn 2000). Through this process raw metal was transformed into definable shapes, from items of jewellery to weaponry and tools. Once rendered, the compositional form of the resultant product determined its value irrespective of weight. For the Nordic area this is demonstrated in Late Bronze Age Pomerania, southern Scandinavia's greatest area of influence (Pydyn 2000). In the earlier Bronze Age, bulky, seemingly ornamental pieces (most often for the neck and arms) were manufactured with an alternative purpose in mind—that of storing bronze. Rendered impracticable by their outsized proportions, these rings could be

reserved (like decorative ingots) for the later production of different items. The end of the Nordic Bronze Age is marked by a pronounced dearth of metal. At this time, imitated throughout Pomerania, the once cumbersome arm rings were modified, trading their mass for a lighter, hallow design, suggesting that the form of the object itself bore a greater social, and perhaps symbolic, significance than the amount of bronze alone (Pydyn 2000).

In a further attempt at illuminating gender relations in Denmark, Randsborg (1984) sought to analyse male and female interaction, with specific reference to the roles of women in prehistoric society. Relying principally on case studies derived from ethnographic sources, Randsborg's examination finds resolution in the acceptance of traditional gender roles as applicable to the past. Beginning with the Mesolithic, female status is said to have declined from equality in the division of labour, a situation which "...presents woman as man's helper in the processing of the kill" (Randsborg 1984: 147) to activities restricted by proximity to the home. By the Bronze Age, with increasing emphasis placed on the manufacture and exchange of metallic wealth, men commanded the political domain as well as the products of female industry (like weaving and other such crafts). Imported luxury items of bronze and objects of gold carry predominantly masculine associations throughout the Bronze Age; however, in the later period depositional finds are dominated by votive offerings consisting of female ornaments, thus revealing the participation of women in non-domestic activities. According to Randsborg (1984), the graves represent the political circumstances, whilst the female hoards were clearly consigned to the earth by eminent women, a demonstration of their rise in prominence through marriage.

There are several obvious problems with these conclusions, beginning with the recurring theme of naturalised male domination. Through this assumption women are presumed to have been bound to the home, their social position waning, whist male status rose steadily; however, no evidence has ever been found in the archaeological record to definitively substantiate such claims. Furthermore, Randsborg's study converges on one possibility, thereby confining our knowledge of the gendered past

to the age-old public/private, male/female dichotomy, while other influencing factors go unmentioned. Randsborg (1984) builds his case upon insubstantial evidence, alleging proof of gendered power structures and activities where there is none. Meanwhile, he neglects to further develop topics where relevant indicators of gender are present, such as the dominance of presumed female votive offerings in the later Bronze Age, referred to only briefly.

Drawing upon ethnographic analogy in a survey of gender representation in the archaeological record of prehistoric Denmark, Liv Gibbs (1987) discusses a variety of contexts, from artefact types present in burials and hoards to rock art in which evidence of a gendered consciousness is observable. Beginning with the Late Mesolithic into the later Bronze Age, Gibbs suggests that whilst females were underrepresented in Bronze Age burials and the media of rock art which catered to a 'masculinist ideology', they were able to assert themselves through elaborate decoration of ceramics and domestic surfaces (some long houses form the later Bronze Age exhibit traces of painted designs), and the deposition of personal ornaments. Of most value in this analysis are the listed artefacts found in anthropologically sexed burials from north east Sjælland. Categorised by sex and period it is possible to visualise the degree of exclusivity and overlap in object types between men and women, particularly useful (though derived from only a small sample) when approaching gender studies in an area dominated by burials whose sex remains virtually unexplored through scientific means.

Helena Victor (1999) points out that traditional narratives of the Scandinavian Bronze Age portray a hierarchical society organised according to the same dichotomous principles, i.e. active/passive, public private, that have long been used in the social sciences to define male and female relationships. Accordingly, all positions and activities considered prestigious by archaeologists are depicted as having been exclusively controlled by men, whilst women tended submissively to their domestic duties. Alternatively, Victor argues that both males and females contributed actively to society in the Scandinavian Bronze Age "...in matters concerning religion and power..." (1999: 84), though perhaps performing differing

functions. Focussing on what she terms ‘The Idea of the House’, i.e. the house as home, family refuge and focal point of life, Victor draws parallels between domestic and ritual houses in an attempt to dismantle the conventional approach. If women were primarily associated with the domestic sphere, then it seems logical to suppose they were also connected to the ritual structures and domiciles discovered beneath or in close proximity to a number of burial mounds (Victor 1999). Furthermore, she reasons that if women were responsible for all household labours, evidence of cooking activity at the site of ritual houses, and thus the ritual preparation of food for feasting should also be attributed to them. Perhaps, in the case of cremation, they even saw to the funeral fire, directing preparation of the deceased for burial. Thus, they would have been participating in and possibly even controlling this and other aspects of religious life, usually credited to men (Victor 1999).

However, it is also possible that men were solely in charge of the ritual preparations and activities. In this case, the performance of these tasks in a context imitative of the domestic would demonstrate a respect amongst males for household activities and, thereby, the women in charge of them (Victor 1999). This would also suggest that ‘The Idea of the House’ was not specifically linked to either gender. In a further scenario, Victor (1999) considers that men and women may have worked together toward the completion of tasks involved in ritual performance. Were this so it would indicate that cooperation among gender groups was required. Ultimately, she concludes from the reading of each alternative that men were not the only group active and valued in public life. According to either scenario postulated by Victor (1999) gender relations and task distribution were more flexible than is suggested by established interpretations. Conversely, as it is dependant on a binary framework, her proposal does not allow for possible variability of gender categories. Furthermore, her assertions are supported by insubstantial evidence. Though she suggests women may have played an important role in ritual life, she makes no argument against the traditional association of women with the domestic arena; in fact it is only through this assumed connection that she is able to propose they participated in ritual activities at all. This analysis has value as an exercise which demonstrates that an alternative reading of the evidence is possible. However, this approach also

demonstrates, though perhaps unintentionally, how easily archaeological evidence may be manipulated to epitomise the narrative of choice.

Whereas Randsborg (1973) derives social value from the weight and material of an object, associating it in traditional terms with male or female according to typological function, Sørensen (1997) considers the role of material culture in the construction and maintenance of gender and identity. In approaching costume as the platform through which this process (discussed further in section 4.1.2 of Chapter 4) is enacted, the formation of plain cloth into garments and the addition of material embellishments are read as a two-part mechanism facilitating the display of each individual's social and personal identity. Similarly, in an examination of social change in the Scandinavian transition from Bronze Age to Iron Age, Sørensen (1987) identifies gendered meaning in a complex system of contraposition and structure which dictated the use of later bronze material. Objects were configured oppositionally, reflecting differences in their associated meaning, roles and values "...in the reproduction of the material culture and in society" (Sørensen 1987: 94).

These can be divided into five functional categories: 'weapons', 'tools', 'ornaments', 'toilet equipment and dress fittings' and, finally, 'unique objects' (Sørensen 1987). Within these groupings exist particular defining polarities: external/internal, unique/standard, male/female and associations: external-unique-male, internal-standard-female. External objects, those brought in from outside Scandinavia, were fairly numerous, chosen according to specific regional criteria and integrated into Nordic culture through their relationship to internal products, use in local activities and imitation (Sørensen 1987). While locally produced objects are rigidly standardised in form, decoration and variety within each type, foreign items are distinctive, occurring less frequently and only in special, ritual contexts. Weapons, items typically considered male, are most highly represented among the foreign imports, particularly those displaying an elevated level of craftsmanship. If we allow that females are connected with jewellery, they are vastly present among superior local products and ritual contexts. Ornamental items, leg and arm rings for instance, do occur (with less frequency) among the externally produced introductions;

however, their nature is such that it is unclear for which gender these items would have been intended, in that males and females are equally as likely to have worn them.

Past interpretations of the metalwork and functional object types from Late Bronze Age Denmark have strongly suggested a shift in status raising females to positions of greater authority or cited the adoption of a female goddess as central to the developmental structure of ritual activity (Sørensen 1987). Such claims are solely predicated upon the abundance of ornaments and their virtual domination of votive deposits from this period combined with a marked decline in the appearance of weaponry in mortuary and depositional contexts. Alternatively, Sørensen (1987) argues for the difficulty in positively ascertaining the effect of this behaviour on social and religious perspectives. Furthermore, the lack of obvious female objects in cremation graves neither indicates an absence of female burials or a substantial increase of female power, as many of the mortuary accompaniments at this time appear to be gender neutral with some graves containing none. Instead it is proposed that men and women functioned as part of separate hierarchies within the same system, each participating in its own ritual activities involving the manipulation of distinct material cultures. Through this, Sørensen (1987) suggests that a system of oppositional relationships structured the world of the later Danish Bronze Age, recapitulating and thus consistently affirming itself. Essentially a structuralist approach, this perspective leaves no room for the variation or diversity which may have existed in prehistoric society.

In her more recent analyses, however, Sørensen (1997; 2000; 2006) advocates an approach which is acknowledges difference and is no longer limited to observation of binary categories. In her examination of material culture and its role in constructing, negotiating and even subverting gender identity, Sørensen draws from Butler (1990; 1993). Highlighting the changeability of gender, she states that through the employment of material culture in specific activities gender is constituted and is made tangible (Sørensen 2000; 2006). In this way objects may also be instrumental in enabling the variability and destabilisation of gender (Sørensen 2006). In her

analysis of clothing and objects associated in the formation of gender identity in the Danish Bronze Age, she finds evidence of three socially regulated categories of costume, two for women and one for men (see Chapter 4), therefore, demonstrating how these components were utilised in the institution and maintenance of gender ideology (Sørensen 1997).

A further gendered perspective is offered by Janet Levy in her analyses of Late Bronze Age hoards from Denmark. In earlier work, Levy (1979; 1981; 1982) cited what she identified as 'ritual hoards' as evidence of a prevailing hierarchy concerned with preserving fertility and demonstrating rank (See section 4.2.9 of Chapter 4 for further elaboration) These analyses viewed material from the votive deposits as indicative of a strictly binary arrangement regarding ritual participation and the overall organisation of society. However, in a further examination of social structure, Levy (1995; 1999; 2006) disputes the application of hierarchical concepts to Bronze Age Denmark, arguing instead that the principle of heterarchy may be better employed. Through this system the transection between horizontal forces and correlates of vertical ranking could potentially expose greater variation in the social relationships and community organisation of prehistoric societies (Levy 1995; 1999; 2006). To demonstrate the benefit of a heterarchical model, Levy returns once again to the hoards, opposing previous investigations in which the material was approached from a strictly hierarchical perspective.

In a hierarchical model only vertical factors are considered. Consequently, the Bronze Age hoards of Denmark have generally been depicted as reflecting two stages of development: the first, represented by Early Bronze Age, predominantly male oriented funerary deposits, signifies a time of growth and plenty, whilst the second stage, coinciding with the Late Bronze Age and portrayed as a time of decline, is marked by a dearth of metal in mortuary contexts, but also the infiltration of predominantly female votive deposits (Levy 2006). Furthermore, whereas deposits of male equipment are assumed to have been left as a personal sacrifice of the owner, female accoutrements were offered on behalf of the family. However, from the position of heterarchy, in which gender and other crosscutting factors are regarded as

influences affecting social differentiation, it becomes possible to consider the symbolism of these items and the deeper significance underlying their deposition (Levy 2006). Accordingly, ritual activities, though perhaps at variance, were mutually partaken by male and female participants, both of which made use of prized bronze materials (Levy 1995; 2006). Moreover, Levy (2006) suggests that exceptional instances in the votive deposits which do not correspond to the usual pattern of controlled composition may be proof that third genders existed in Danish Bronze Age society.

Additionally, a cross reference of the seemingly hierarchical votive and funerary deposits with evidence of dwelling size and settlement structure reveals yet another dimension further supporting a heterarchical model (Levy 1995; 1999). Bronze Age society has been consistently characterised as a hierarchical warrior based chieftainship. The occasional appearance of larger long houses in the settlement evidence, thought to indicate a network of centralised chiefly districts around which smaller, more ordinary communities were organised, has been cited as verification of this model (Kristiansen 1998; Earle 2004). According to this theory, from their authoritative positions, the regional chieftains maintained a monopoly on the manufacture and trade of metal, although evidence for this and other forms of control is lacking. Alternatively, when viewed through a heterarchical lens, the "...more hierarchical-looking burials and rather less hierarchical-looking settlements" (Levy 1995: 47) depict a situation of far greater complexity in which a hierarchical ideology may exist, but is limited by egalitarian principles (Levy 1995). This perspective may prove of great significance to developing archaeological understanding of gender ideology in Bronze Age Denmark.

Among the most recent contributions to gender studies in Northern Europe, Sophie Bergebrant (2007) examines gender and identity in the Middle Bronze Age of Southern Scandinavia and Northern Germany. On the basis of costume, Bergebrant (2007) concludes that there must have been two main artefact categories—male and female—within which there existed up to four subcategories distinguished by dress, with factors such as social position, age or marital status accounting for the variation

in appearance from person to person. In other words, she appears to assume that in Danish Bronze Age society a person's gender was determined from birth by his/her biological sex. While there may have been a binary influence in the costume, a broader statement regarding gender organisation cannot be made based upon the mortuary record alone. Although Bergebrant (2007) attempts to reconstruct individuals from the small group of well preserved Danish burials as they would have appeared outfitted in full costume, her illustrations appear to be fanciful (see Figure 3.1, Appendix A). Furthermore, the men and woman are depicted in poses typically employed throughout traditional reconstructions of gender roles in archaeology. While the males stand with sword aloft or arms folded across the chest in a commanding posture, one female is engaged in weaving at a loom and another, spindle whorl in hand, spins wool into thread (Bergebrant 2007: 51-53). These activities were perhaps carried out by women of the Danish Bronze Age, however there is no definitive evidence linking them to either. Likewise, it has been pointed out that the ease and unrestricted nature of spinning means it can be performed by anyone and has not necessarily always been considered a female activity (Sørensen 2006: 115). Moreover, these images further demonstrate conformity with traditional depictions of binary categories and gender roles in Bergebrant's analysis.

The greatest weakness of this investigation results from Bergebrant's unwillingness to consider that, though preservation of osteological remains in connection with clothing and material culture is rare, there may still be evidence for the existence of more flexible gender constructs elsewhere in the archaeological record. While she acknowledges that variation in gender identities may have been a part of Bronze Age society, she relies heavily on binary gender categories as the basis for her analysis. Citing artefact type distribution from the mortuary record as a valid indication of gender, Bergebrant depends on traditional means in the assignment of sex to burials. To this end she introduces a list of artefacts she considers to be 'male', 'female' and 'unisex' types, stating "[i]n this dissertation the following objects are used for an archaeological sexing of burials" (Bergebrant 2007: 8). Although she does depart from other, approaches in declining to employ the more obvious assumptions (e.g. that a burial without weaponry is female), her approach demonstrates confidence in

the use of traditional gender biases. In this manner she makes little attempt to diverge from exhausted methodologies proven inadequate by recent development in feminist approaches. Alternatively, Bergebrant (2007) makes some interesting observations regarding connections between gender and age, as well as suggesting possible evidence for regional variation in the display of identity. However, although she remarks that it is possible males declined in status with age, she does not further develop the point to consider what this might indicate in terms of gender and the lifecycle, viewing the situation only from the perspective of wealth and social ranking. Although there are valuable insights interspersed throughout her analysis, like the 'add women and stir' approach characteristic of early gender theory in archaeology, this work is reminiscent of traditional binary approaches with a small measure of third wave gender theory mixed in.

3.2.2 Second versus Third Wave Approaches in Gender Archaeology of the Danish Bronze Age

A commonality linking many of the above analyses is the restricted focus upon particular men and women, leaving possible evidence for variability unconsidered. This preoccupation stems from early gender theory in archaeology in its attempt to impose structure on the archaeological record through binary opposition. Randsborg's (1973; 1984) efforts at decoding gender organisation in Danish prehistory clearly suffer from the liberal application of a traditional perspective. Gibbs (1987), too, approaches the evidence from her own historical context, envisioning female struggle for recognition under male domination in a polarised universe. Likewise, while Gro Mandt (1987), in considering a number of agrarian symbols which may have been representational of females, contradicts the prevailing view of rock art as a male dominion, she makes no mention of gender beyond an ideology characterised by duality (see section 4.2.3 of Chapter 4 for further discussion). This is also true of Victor's (1999) analysis. Though she demonstrates that a masculine focus is not the only possible translation of the evidence, she does not allow for variation beyond normative gender categories. In a more recent publication Bergebrant (2007) aims to examine gender and identity making use of evidence from the Danish oak coffin burials. However, though she acknowledges the

potential that non-binary genders were a part of society in the North European Bronze Age, throughout her research she employs an outdated approach which is only relevant to examination of traditional male-female categories. Similarly, Sørensen's (1987) examination of the metalwork, whilst highlighting the internal logic which dictated the way the material was utilised, did not consider this ideology beyond the binary in terms of gender.

However, in their contribution to third wave feminist scholarship, the current approaches of Sørensen (1997; 2000; 2006) and Levy (1995; 1999; 2006) demonstrate the theoretical development of gender archaeology. In her examination of costume from the earlier Bronze Age, for instance, Sørensen (1997) suggests there were three gendered categories of dress. Two of these were worn by females, the difference perhaps indicative of age or marital status, with the third, a standard costume showing little variation, having been worn by males. Furthermore, Sørensen (2006) argues that objects, rather than being passive tools in the construction of gender, are active in the creation of gendered meaning. Though her earlier approach to metalwork is hampered by polarised perception, Sørensen's more recent examination of the potential for gendered expression through costume moves beyond these confines, suggesting variation in identity and its potential display (see Chapter 4 for further discussion). Also surmounting this barrier, Levy (1995; 1999; 2006) has demonstrated the possibility of invigorating gender archaeology through a research method which allows for the possibility of variation. In her former research, Levy's (1979; 1981; 1982) methodology was centred upon male versus female symbolism in hoards from the later Danish Bronze Age. More recently, however, with the integration of heterarchical theory, she has shown that examination of gender in prehistoric society can move beyond the constraints of antiquated binary approaches.

3.3 Gendering the Danish Bronze Age

The study of gender in archaeology has developed out of a singular focus on women into a subfield that recognises the potential for social variation in the past, taking as its springboard the changeable nature of individuals and society. During this time research frameworks have developed and techniques improved. Gender is now recognised as an aspect of multifaceted social identity, an element of personhood like age, sexuality, ethnicity, rank, marital status or parenthood (Clarke & Wilkie 2006). In this light there is no justification for the stagnation of Danish Bronze Age studies in the questionable methodology of outmoded approaches. Research to this point has principally utilised an outdated binary approach, saturating all levels of investigation with subjective conjecture. As a consequence archaeology has been unable to look beyond the influence of contemporary principles toward other possibilities. Though archaeology has been reluctant to acknowledge the prospect of such diversity in the past, our own cultural experiences alone have proven there is more than one way to be male/female.

The various studies outlined above are exemplary of gendered analysis concerning the Bronze Age in Denmark, of which most have taken a binary perspective largely influenced by the first and second wave developments in feminist theory discussed earlier. I argue that such assumptions are inappropriate to interpreting the archaeological record of the Danish Bronze Age, and in doing so, challenge the stability of the binary approach, whose false authority rests upon an assumed universality of the categories male-female. Limited by essentialism, this system does not account for the complexity of gender ideology, the plurality of identity, or the myriad processes involved in gender formation. The result has been an archaeology narrow in perspective, peopled by stereotypical men and women, all living normative lives. However, the birth of this perspective predates the introduction of the sex/gender debate in archaeology (Alberti 2006). Having had the benefit of the latter, a binary methodology is no longer relevant. Speaking of the prehistoric world as structured in terms of ‘male’ and ‘female’ implies stability, a fixedness of identity

preordained by socio-biological forces (Alberti 2006). Instead, I argue that an approach which rejects variation is inapplicable and advocate the exploration of alternative possibilities which may be read from the data when it is allowed to speak for itself.

An approach which allows for the potential diversity and variability of gender identities, but which also acknowledges the connectivity between gender and other aspects of identity, is essential to the investigation of Danish Bronze Age society. This includes altering the dominant perception of males, their roles and experiences. Men and masculinity have long been the central focus of Bronze Age studies in Denmark. Accordingly, from the perspective of early feminist theory in archaeology men have always been present but women need to be exposed. However, when viewed through the lens of a revitalised masculinist approach these men appear as one coagulated mass of macho, aggressively heterosexual swordfighters, their maleness clearly defined by normative traditions. Therefore, the application of masculinist theory, informed by feminist scholarship, will prove fruitful in reconceptualising masculine identities (plural) of the Danish Bronze Age within a framework receptive to flexibility.

Concepts of personhood and embodiment are also relevant to examination of society in the Danish Bronze Age. Here, Butler's (1990; 1993) theory of performance as a mechanism through which gendered behaviour is regulated and learned, could be applied in deciphering the archaeological record. For instance, in the approach outlined by Sofaer (2006a) and the examples from Mollesson (1994) and Hollimon (1997), the embodiment of gendered experience is evident in patterns of alteration resulting from the prescribed performance of repetitive gendered activities. Therefore, it has promise for the detection of persons normally invisible to a system in search of binary genders. Ultimately, though, this method is of most value where osteological material is preserved to a certain standard, which is not generally the case in Bronze Age Denmark, thereby limiting its potential for this area. Alternatively, the conception of personhood as a complex network of interconnecting elements affected mutually by internal motivations and external influences, could

enable examination of Danish Bronze Age society on a micro scale, directing inquiry from the generalised mass to individual persons.

The debate surrounding the concept of individuality and its application to peoples in prehistory cautions archaeologists against approaching the topic from a contemporary perspective which would envision communities in the past as teeming with individuals, all struggling to define themselves (Knapp & van Dommelen 2008). Although some view 'individuality', 'individualism' and the 'individual' as strictly Western concepts produced by modern society with no relevance to prehistory (see, for example, Thomas 1996; 2002, 2004 as cited in Knapp & van Dommelen 2008) others argue that, while most contemporary perceptions of the individual are not altogether applicable, the possibility that prehistoric peoples were social beings who possessed a sense of self awareness is entirely appropriate (Knapp & van Dommelen 2008). However, this perceived self/personhood, would have been constituted, experienced and performed subject to the specific cultural-historical context in which each person was situated (Fowler 2004a; Knapp & van Dommelen 2008). Therefore, the term 'individual' or personhood, as it is referred to by Chris Fowler (2004a; 2004b), in reference to separate persons or a separate person's sense of self identity, in contrast to the concept of 'individualism', which embraces contemporary notions of selfhood as defined through personal motivations and social agency, should not be discounted. Rather, it should be employed as a theoretical tool which may be of use in investigating the biographies of people who made up the past (Knapp & van Dommelen 2008). Personhood may be constructed, understood and experienced in multiple ways (Fowler 2004a). Furthermore, concepts of personhood, embodiment and performance also have relevance to the study of material culture from Bronze Age Denmark; for example, they are crucial for understanding the role of costume and accessories in the formation of identity and the regulation of gendered behaviour. Though seldom employed thus far in social analyses pertaining to the Danish Bronze Age, recent approaches to the study of personhood and self identity derived from feminist scholarship could provide critical insight to the future development of archaeological research in this area.

In the following chapter various forms of evidence for the construction and maintenance of gender and identity in the Danish Bronze Age will be explored. In this manner, a case will be made for the prospect of flexibility beyond what is allowed in a system of binary organisation. These indicators, visible in aspects of costume, material culture, artistic representation and depositional activity, demonstrate the need for a more thorough approach. Although generally in poor condition, examination of the mortuary remains represents the clearest window through which we may access the biological sex of an individual. As previously stated, though of limited potential, armed with new perspectives and technological advances, the osteological material must be revisited. Furthermore, when integrated with evidence from the archaeological record and informed by feminist approaches, as outlined above, we may begin to formulate an informed understanding of gender ideology (Crass 2001) in the society of Bronze Age Denmark.

Chapter 4

Gender and Identity in Bronze Age Denmark

In this chapter I will investigate three forms of evidence applicable to the illumination of gender ideology (Brumfiel 2007) in Bronze Age Denmark. In the first, gender associated costume and artefacts, the clothed body, adornment and overall appearance are examined in the context of available evidence; that is, well preserved oak coffin burials from the earlier Bronze Age. As will be shown, at each level of composition, costume acts as both an expression and a contributor in the construction and communication of gender and identity. Secondly, gendered aspects of cosmology, including the representational media of rock art and anthropomorphic figurines, will be explored. The manner in which human figures are represented, speaks to the cultural construction of identity, sexuality and gender (Yates 1993), be they pictorial or sculptural. Finally, I will consider the ritual deposition of gender related objects in hoards. As items associated with the body, many of which appear to have been gender specific, artifacts contributed in votive offerings are imbued with gendered meaning. Each of these media, costume, art and ritual performance, may act as both a generator and conduit of gender ideology. Though separate forms of evidence should be considered contextually, only when they are examined conjointly can patterns emerge and informed deductions be made about the nature of gender ideology (Gibbs 1987) in prehistoric Denmark.

The extent to which gendered characteristics and heterogeneity are expressed through such manifestations is suggestive of attitudes toward gender and their degree of

prominence in society (Brumfiel 2007). Cultural constructions of gender ideology (masculinity and femininity for example) may consequently affect other spheres of social life such as individual rights, participation and the structure of relationships, as well as determining cosmological organisation, its forms and deities (Sørensen 2000). Each of the types of evidence examined here has, in the past, been manipulated in promotion of the illusion that Danish Bronze Age society was firmly rooted in a binary sex/gender ideology (as demonstrated in the section 3.2 of the previous chapter). Since the earliest discovery of the coffin burials this perspective has prevailed, extending to interpretation of all other materials from the archaeological record. Through careful re-examination of the above media I will demonstrate the existence of a complex gendered system marked by differences and evoked through material culture and artistic representation.

4.1 Body, Identity and Dress in Bronze Age Denmark

Many of the best known surviving examples of Bronze Age textiles and styling come from the Danish oak coffin burials. It is due to their unique circumstance of preservation, enveloped within the waterlogged confines of iron pan cores, that the appearance of Bronze Age peoples in Denmark (in death at the least) is available for scrutiny. Once broken, it has been reported, great amounts of water flow out of the protective hardpan shell (Glob 1974; Randsborg & Christensen 2006), exposing its contents to the effects of decay, thus hastening the necessity of removal (Coles & Harding 1979). It is estimated that there must, at one time, have been many thousands of oak coffin burials (Randsborg & Christensen 2006) contained in some forty to fifty thousand mounds (Jensen 2002) throughout Jylland. At present, there are approximately thirty well preserved coffins; together with their contents they comprise our knowledge of Danish Bronze Age fashion.

Further analysis shows members of Danish Bronze Age society to be fair in appearance, possessing typical Nordic features, with blond hair and narrow faces (Coles & Harding 1979). In death (perhaps as in life) they were well groomed exhibiting strong, well maintained teeth and carefully manicured nails, rounded in shape (Glob 1974). Men were cleanly shaven, displaying a range of hairstyles (Kristiansen & Larsson 2005), while some women seem to have worn their hair hanging loose about the shoulders (e.g. Egtved girl) (Glob 1974) or intricately assembled upon the head, secured by a delicately woven net of horse hair (Kristiansen & Larsson 2005) as at Skrydstrup. Whether stylistic differences were dictated by preference of the wearer or other factors such as age, marital status or social standing is unknown; however, the collective effect would have been one of communicating the social self, perhaps even integrating other sensations such as touch, smell and sound in the creation of cultural distinctions and associations (Barnes & Eicher 1993b).

4.1.1 Garment Design and Manufacture

From the earliest investigation of Danish textiles it has been suggested that the nature of assembly and shape of the woolen garments known from the oak coffin burials can be explained by looking back at the earliest material utilized in clothing manufacture, animal hide. Like those items crafted from hide, the woolen apparel of the Danish Bronze Age displays "… overlapping rough edges of seams and [an] absence of turned down edges[...] characteristic of skin sewing and not particularly suitable for woven fabrics which fray" (Hald 1980: 347). Correspondingly, Margrethe Hald (1980) has demonstrated a similarity in shape between the woolen poncho (a female associated garment commonly found among the oak coffin burials) and the skin poncho, by overlaying one pattern on top of the other. Rather than prepare each section of the top in individual components, the poncho was constructed from a single piece of woven cloth. When worn over the shoulders, with a head hole cut out in the appropriate place, and sewn up the sides and beneath the arms, it resembles a cropped shirt. Through removing

the neck flap of the animal hide and reducing the length of the side pieces, the pattern of the wool poncho reveals itself (Hald 1980).

Closer examination of the fabrics and the way in which they were constructed and worn reveals an attempt to preserve time-honoured techniques (which began using hide but were continued with the processing of wool) whilst mimicking the look of the original material. The addition of long fur-like pile on the outer surface of cloaks and round caps (presumably) worn by the male population, in conjunction with the shape of the inner gown-like garment (reminiscent of an animal pelt) further illustrates this principle (Broholm & Hald 1940). Worn wrapped about the chest just beneath the arms, the gown was secured in place by means of a woven or leather belt tied round the waist and fastened over the shoulders with two leather straps (as in the Muldbjerg and Trindhøj burials) attached to the garment. In this way, the woolen gown closely resembles its furry predecessor, as the attached shoulder straps can easily be likened in function to the fore or hind legs of an animal skin (Broholm & Hald 1940).

The cloth itself is plain, woven from the coarse brown wool of the now extinct Faroe sheep (Broholm & Hald 1940; Barber 1991), which was probably harvested by hand or with a comb, plucked from the sheep during the spring molting period (Broholm & Hald 1940; Ryder 1988) or likewise removed from dried fleece after slaughter in autumn, as has been observed in Iceland and the Faroe Islands (Broholm & Hald 1940). The higher kemp content of the fleece would have made meticulous separation of soft from coarse fibres, most likely by hand, a necessity. Once gathered and cleaned the wool would need to be prepared (as above) and spun into thread for weaving. Evidence of the equipment necessary for spinning and weaving in Denmark is scanty in this period. Only one possible spindle-whorl from a male coffin grave at Flødhøj, Flynder in Ringkøbing Amt, and two examples of loom-weights have been found: one from a (tentatively dated) Period III burial at Skrydstrup, Haderslev County; the other from a settlement site, Jegstrup, Viborg County, dating to the Late Bronze Age (Broholm & Hald 1940). Apart

from this, the earliest known evidence found in Denmark, a distaff from the bog site of Hjortspringkobbel, dates to the Iron Age.

Although considered suitable for needlework (an example of which can be seen on the woman's poncho from Skrydstrup), in regard to weaving, the wool fabric of the earlier Danish Bronze Age has been referred to as "coarse and faulty" (Barber 1991: 177). It has been suggested that perhaps the inconsistent quality of the fabric could be attributed to the introduction of a novel technology (in the type of loom or the very act of weaving itself) not yet mastered (Barber 1991). Rather than using a single large length of fabric, many of these items were constructed through the sewing together of several small pieces of material (often with clumsy stitches), once again suggestive of previous pelt working experience (Barber 1991; Broholm & Hald 1940). However, as Elizabeth Barber (1991) points out, there may have been little care as to the preliminary appearance of the fabric, as the application of felting techniques to create a more insulating, less permeable covering, would have disguised any visible flaws (if such an approach were used).

The manufacturing technique of string skirts, however, indicates that the Bronze Age northerners were well acquainted with the craft of band weaving (Barber 1991). Each skirt begins with a woven band, to be worn on the hips, that acts as the upper hem of the garment from which the lengths of string are suspended. Following the weaving of the belt, the weft threads (intertwining threads which are woven into the tensile warp threads) are drawn out so as to hang loose from one side, making up the main body of the skirt, about a foot in length (Barber 1991). At this point, small tubes of bronze may be added for decoration (as at Hagendrup and perhaps Ølby), and the lower hem is created by sewing the looped fringe together at the lowermost end. In this way the loops appear to have been gathered at the bottom, thus minimizing exposure (though the wearer of such a skirt could hardly be concerned with preserving modesty) and forming little tassels similar in appearance to the tassel ended belts, worn with a belt plate about

the waist, in conjunction with the string skirt. It seems that a marriage of the (afore mentioned) familiar with the novel introduction of loom-based weaving can be observed in this manner of string skirt production (Barber 1991).

Unlike the rest of the Bronze Age wardrobe, footwear was the only item of clothing that continued invariably to be manufactured in the skin tradition. The shoes found among the oak coffin burials are of the Hudsko (hide shoe) or one piece type. The wearer would wrap the precut piece of hide up over the foot to the ankle, gathering material where needed to encourage a more moulded shape (Hald 1972). Beneath this, a wrapping of wool cloth protects the ankle from chafing, and at the ball of the foot a pillow-like wad of plant fibre or animal hair can be placed to cushion each step. To fasten, the gathered material is bound securely to the foot with leather thongs wrapped repeatedly around the area of the instep and ankle. An example of this was found in the well preserved female burial at Skrydstrup, and similar finds can be observed at Borum Eshøj, Muldbjerg and Trindhøj (Hald 1972). Fitting the size and shape of the individual as they do, these shoes posses an expedient nature, as though manufactured expeditiously according to the immediate needs of the wearer.

4.1.2 Aspects and Analysis of Female Presentation

The most widely debated garment belonging to the Danish Bronze Age is, by far, the string skirt. With her striking jewelry and risqué ensemble, the discovery of Egtved girl in 1921 was equally as fascinating as it was shocking (Glob 1974). Societal values of the time dictated that Danish female ancestry would have appeared modest and chaste in long, loose flowing garments. Instead they were confronted with the corded skirt: wound twice about her hips and with a length of roughly 16 inches, it left nothing to the imagination (Glob 1974; see Figure 4.1, Appendix A). Even so, various examples throughout prehistory now prove that the string skirt with its revealing nature was, even in the Bronze Age, nothing new. Such images can be traced back in one form or another to the Paleolithic. One need only glimpse the pubis-framing fringed garment worn just

beneath the pendulous breasts of the voluptuous Venus figurine from Gagarino, in the Ukraine, to notice the similarity (Barber 1991). Further examples can be found in Neolithic representations, such as the skirted female figure from Šipintsi (also in the Ukrain). Here, though sparse in number, the lengths of cord are longer, extending to what would be the knee area (Barber 1991). When viewed alongside the long, heavy woolen skirt from the previously excavated site of Borum Eshøj (1871), some confusion was inevitable, leading academics to assume a seasonal differentiation in wear—long skirt in winter and shorter, skimpier skirt in the warmer months. Egtved girl was buried in the summertime, as illustrated by the presence of yarrow (a plant which flowers in the summer) in the coffin. However, plant remains in the coffin of Skrydstrup woman, buried in a tubular skirt equal in weight to that at Borum Eshøj, also attest to a summer interment (Glob 1974). However, it has been argued that the little coverage a corded skirt could provide would not have been sufficient to make it a preferred mode of summertime dress in the temperate climate of Denmark (Glob 1974). Perhaps, then, style of dress was based upon age. Egtved girl was only about 16-20 years old at the time of her death, while the woman from Borum Eshøj was a great deal older, around 50-60 years of age. Once again, Skrydstrup woman proves the exception, having been aged at roughly 18 years (Glob 1974).

There is evidence in Northern Europe that animal and vegetable fibres were employed together in the manufacture of textiles. However, in each instance while the animal fibre (wool) remains preserved, the plant material appears to have disintegrated leaving only traces of its presence in the form of visible holes into which the plant fibres were once woven, though the fibres themselves have since been destroyed (Barber 1991). Thus, in the absence of the fibres a sort of negative image has been created wherein their former presence, as an additional component in a garment's weave, can be imagined. An example of this can be seen at the Bronze Age site Unterteutschenthal, in north-central Germany. Here a fragment of wool textile clearly reveals that whilst the animal fibres were preserved the secondary, plant derived material used in its construction is

unidentifiable and noticeably missing (Barber 1991). Pertaining to the archaeological record of Bronze Age Denmark, though it is true that the anaerobic conditions created in some of the round barrows produced conditions conducive to the preservation of hair, skin and wool, objects made of plant materials are rarely observable (Barber 1991: 176). As stated by Barber "[w]e know enough, in short, to realise that in studying the surviving woollen fabrics we are only getting part of the picture of northern textile technology" (1991: 176). Therefore, though some sort of undergarment, perhaps made of a less coarse fabric like linen, worn between the skirt and skin, would have done more to preserve modesty, whilst protecting delicate skin from chafing and providing a greater degree of warmth, there is no evidence of such a situation among the preserved textiles of the Danish Bronze Age.

Conversely, perhaps the purpose of this garment lies not in what it hides or insulates, but rather in what it reveals. Fully clothed from the hips up in a short-sleeved tunic top and belly-concealing belt plate, as was Egtved girl, the eye would naturally be drawn downwards to the sparse coverage provided by the short, veil-like curtain of cords (see Figure 4.2, Appendix A). Movement in such a garment would cause a stirring among the strings, which in parting would expose pockets of bare skin. During the examination of Egtved girl, it was noticed through the skirt strings that had settled between her thighs that even her pubic hair had been preserved (Glob 1974). In this sense and considering her young age, perhaps she and others like her were unwedded women exposing their fertility as a symbol of sexual maturity and eligibility for marriage (Barber 1991). Based upon results from other excavations in which the remains of such skirts have been found (in the form of bronze tubes, often containing bits of cord, or sometimes the strings themselves remain in fragments) it would appear that this garment "…must have been very widespread" (Hald 1980: 369-370). Broholm & Hald (1940) list 24 burials containing the remnants of string skirts based upon the inclusion and placement of bronze tubes, the majority having come from the Danish isles (Bender Jørgensen 1986). From this it seems possible to assume that the presence of numerous bronze tubes in a

burial, regardless of the absence of strings, is indicative "… that once a string skirt was present" (Barber 1991: 181; see Figure 4.3, Appendix A). The addition of multiple bronze tubes, where each tube would have curled vertically around a separate string, would have heightened the attention grabbing affect of the skirt, perhaps even producing a pleasing tinkling sound (Bender Jørgensen 2003), not unlike that of wind-chimes upon animation.

Of the two known styles of female dress observable from the inhumation finds, the floor length tube-like skirt would have provided a bulky alternative, more in keeping with the expectations of modesty held by Victorian society at the time. Excavated in 1871 (Glob 1974), the old woman from Borum Eshøj wore a wool poncho with elbow length sleeves and a full-length skirt secured by a woven belt with tasseled ends similar to the one at Egtved (Glob 1974; Broholm & Hald 1940; see Figure 4.4, Appendix A). Since the discovery of the women from Borum Eshøj and, in 1935 (Glob 1974), Skrydstrup, there has been some speculation as to how exactly this garment would have appeared. Worn cinched round the waist, the fullness of the skirt, having no bodily definition, would become bunched about the midsection, appearing as a wide ruffle above the belt (see Figure 4.5, Appendix A). Another suggestion takes inspiration from the Greek peplos, which is worn high, just under the arms, folded over the breasts and secured round the middle by a belt (Bender Jørgensen 2003). In this case, the poncho would be worn beneath with the skirt wrapped over it. Klavs Randsborg suggests that perhaps women were not restricted to one particular style of wearing this long skirt, but could choose from many variations based upon "… occasion, age, marital status, etc" (Randsborg & Christensen 2006: 24).

Due to the quality of assembly and length of the columnar skirt, it has been inferred that perhaps this was not an item meant for routine wear. Following the examination of Skrydstrup woman's costume, H.C. Broholm determined her lower garment to be a funerary shroud intended only for use in death, rather than a skirt worn in daily life,

based upon its construction. Sewn together by means of large clumsy stitches, the skirt was made of not one great length of fabric, but of many smaller scraps assembled into one, and covered her lower body so as to render her feet invisible. In contrast, the accompanying poncho was skillfully embroidered along the neckline and at the hem of each sleeve, whilst the underarms were carefully lined with additional fabric gussets (Broholm & Hald 1939; 1940). However, it also seems possible that the wool blankets found draped about the burials within their coffins were acting as shrouds (Broholm & Hald 1940); in this case it seems unlikely that the woman from Skrydstrup would need a primary outer shroud as well as a secondary inner one, nor would that fit the dominant pattern. That said, it is difficult to grasp the exact manner in which this skirt would have been worn simply by examining its style of wear concerning the deceased (Broholm & Hald 1940).

Marie Louise Sørensen (1991; 1997) suggests a separation of garments into three levels of meaning—cloth, clothing and costume—as a way of perceiving the role of each in the construction of social identities. As mentioned previously, when it first appeared in Denmark weaving technology was a novel addition to Bronze Age life. The results have been observed to be of coarse and sometimes crude quality, leading one to suspect a variety of manufacturers (perhaps a few family members sharing the work within each home), rather than a single specialized craftsperson, were responsible. In this light, cloth production would not have been undertaken with a specific garment in mind. A length of cloth was a length of cloth and could just as easily have become a long skirt as a great cape; therefore cloth in itself could not have been useful in signifying gender (Sørensen 1991; 1997) (in contrast, the corded skirt and the head pieces worn by men and women seem to have been specifically gendered from inception). When sewn into clothing, i.e. precise articles explicitly intended for individual wear, the cloth is imbued with meaningful possibility. On its own cloth was valuable (as can be argued from the discovery of additional cloth items in funerary contexts), but it was incapable of transmitting social codes beyond basic shapes (top, skirt, cape) and the combination in

which they were worn. However, through the prescribed combination of clothing and the additional placement of various bronze embellishments, a costume, conveying layered gender signification, emerges (Sørensen 1991; 1997).

Unlike the little enhanced male costume, Bronze Age women adorned themselves with a variety of highly decorated articles of bronze and, less often, gold, which could be displayed about the surface of the body, the various groupings appearing to separate it into regions (Sørensen 1997). Varying in size and decoration, these items would flash in the light, accentuating movement (Sørensen 1991), and sometimes constraining it (Sørensen 1997; Kristiansen & Larsson 2005). Three levels of ornamentation have been identified (Sørensen 1997): that which is fixed to the body (leg rings for example); that which is invariably attached to clothing (such as tutuli and double buttons, or the bronze tubes sometimes worn on corded skirts); and lastly, objects that are not permanently fixed and can therefore be removed (dress pins, fibulae, belt plates). Individual objects were combined with others and worn in socially determined sets of publicly displayed identity assembled over time. In a study of Neolithic and Copper Age burials from the Carpathian Basin it has been suggested that metal came into use not simply as material indicating levels of prestige, but as a component of dress necessary for enabling the increasingly complex social system of material expression that had developed (Sofaer Derevenski 2000b). Through decorative detail and combination of various forms, categories of personhood, life stages and other aspects of identity, which had their roots in the Late Neolithic, could be more easily communicated, preserved and elaborated. In such a system, a personal relationship is formed between body and material culture as items are added or removed, marking transitions symbolically throughout the life course in conveyance of the social self. Referring to similar concepts in Egyptian experience, Lynn Meskell describes the identity of each individual as “accumulated through life” (2000: 425).

Judging from the burials, there was a strong female association with ornamentation, while men displayed a greater variety of artifact types in the form of grooming implements, weapons, tools and, though in smaller quantities than women, jewellery (Gibbs 1987). Even so, two similar items of weaponry appear to have been favoured by both sexes, continuously occurring in male and female burials: the dagger and the knife. In Period II of northeast Sjælland the most frequently occurring objects among female burials were bronze belt-plates and neck collars. However, in Period II of the same area 15% of female burials included bronze daggers, while in Period III 8% included daggers and 31% knives (Gibbs 1987: 84). Examples include the Period II dagger finds from Ordrup, grave F; Holbæk County, Tårnholm; Søro County and Ølby, København County, in Sjælland, and the Period III knife finds from Nygård, Holbæk County and Munkevang, Bornholm County, Bornholm (Aner & Kersten 1973; 1976; 1977). Perhaps this equipment was an added variable of female dress, symbolically employed in the physical expression of visually recognizable characteristics "…likely to signal their rank, or even their status as married women (wives of sword bearers)" (Randsborg & Christensen 2006: 34). Moreover, as suggested by Niels Skak-Nielsen (2009), it may be that daggers in the Bronze Age of Scandinavia were not employed as weapons at all, but rather as sacrificial tools, wielded in the ceremonial slaughter of livestock.

While there is no evidence suggesting the correlation of specific garments with age, it has been proposed that there may have been a prescribed stage in life at which a female would receive her dagger (Randsborg & Christensen 2006). Among the best preserved burials, neither the female from Egtved, nor the Skrydstrup female, both aged around sixteen to twenty years old, were interred with a dagger. These individuals represent the youngest known females in the mortuary record. Thus, Randsborg suggests it may have been at approximately twenty years of age that females were socially permitted to carry the dagger as an additional component of dress (Randsborg & Christensen 2006). If so, this would infer that the life-course of females in Bronze Age Denmark was structured according to recognized stages of development in connection with gender identity.

Furthermore, not every so called 'female' burial contains a dagger/knife (see section 5.1.10 of Chapter 5; see also Appendix B) perhaps indicating participation of certain women in warfare (Mestorf 1889) or defence (Müller 1876; Bergebrant 2007). However, it also seems likely that this was an object linked to some specific aspect of identity not applicable to every individual.

A social division in hairstyle has been observed among the burials between women donning the corded skirt and those found wearing the long one, demonstrating a possible link between short skirt/short hair (about shoulder length, worn loose around the face) and long skirt/long hair (worn in an up do and covered with a sprang cap) (Sørensen 1991). If so, this manipulation of hairstyle as a conveying factor of social identity, though not as extreme, bears similarity to the acknowledged importance and regimented treatment of hair among Bronze Age men (as discussed below). Just as the male burials contain assorted grooming implements, female burials often include palm-sized bone or bronze combs (Aner & Kersten 1973-1993), conceivably for general hair maintenance and possibly the prevention of pests (Alderhouse-Green 2004). Coupled with the shorter, more provocative corded skirt, the unrestrained quality of a natural hairstyle was perhaps evocative of flourishing youthfulness, whilst the carefully constrained and elaborately styled chignon associated with the long, heavy skirts may have indicated self-discipline, maturity, wisdom or perhaps womanhood in general (Alderhouse-Green 2004). To achieve the full affect of this intricately assembled style, the interweaving of cap with hair, would have required skill, time and most probably assistance (see Figure 4.6, Appendix A).

In regard to regional variation, in a small number of female burials from Fyn a fibula was found located above the head (Bergebrant 2007). Within Denmark this seems fairly unique to the area and may suggest that a headdress of some description was worn by the deceased which would have distinguished them from others in appearance. Only one other burial in Denmark, a female from Skrydstrup, Jylland, has been found outside of

Fyn with this feature. For this reason it has been suggested that she came originally from Fyn, a theory supported by a particular design motif adorning the woman's belt-plate which appears native to this region (Bergebrant 2007). Other cases in which this placement of the fibula occurs can be found in Lüneburg Heath, Lower Saxony, where headdresses were not commonly worn but occurred more prominently than in Fyn. Here, Fibulae were worn less frequently as a fastening on the body, as in Denmark, but were instead utilised as a part of elaborate head-gear to which numerous other bronze items (tubes, tutuli, etc.) were also attached.

Sophie Bergebrant (2007) proposes that the difference in such burials, where there was an emphasis on the head, from those without an accompanying headdress in which the neck and torso areas were highlighted, may attest to the existence of two different categories, marked out by social differences, within a dominant female gender category. This she argues is a more appropriate explanation than the possibility that they demonstrate membership of two separate gender categories due to uniformity in the other artefact types with which they were buried. This perspective may provide some explanation for the unusual placement of fibulae in female burials when applied to similar examples from Fyn (see Figure 4.7, Appendix A). It may be that these individuals, as Bergebrant (2007) suggests of Lüneburg Heath, were part of a small group differentiated socially from others. However, unlike the highly decorated head pieces described above, the burials from Fyn containing specially placed fibulae are not marked by the presence of any other metalwork that could be considered the component of a headdress in this area of the skull. Perhaps, then, the fibula may indicate a different method of styling the head and hair from what has been observed among those burials where the hair was still present, utilising a more simplistic headdress as in the reconstruction by Friedrich Laux (1996) of a Haarknotenfibel from Lüneburg Heath, in which the fibula appears to secure the hair to the back of the head in a bun (see Figure 4.8, Appendix A).

It would appear that two socially defining categories of dress existed among women of the Danish Bronze Age, delineated (at the most basic level) by the differing styles and manufacturing techniques of the skirts (Sørensen 1997). Perhaps, too, the presence of a dagger/knife, as well as a particular mode of decoration, was used to further distinguish one from the other, or to characterise additional, micro identities imbedded within the dominant one. Here, the plain, often crude fabric would provide a background upon which to manipulate and display identity (Sørensen 1997). Additionally, a defining hairstyle may have contributed to the overall effect, as, among known female burials, it appears there may have been some correlation between coiffure and the type of skirt that was worn. This might have been the case in the example from Fyn, where a particular hairstyle, confined to this region in Denmark, seems to have been worn by only a specific few (Bergebrant 2007). In contrast, male dress, while being distinctly different from that of females, appears much the same, with little differentiation between individuals, but for the undergarment. Consequently, three, perhaps four, visible classifications become apparent. In addition to this distinction of males from females there appears an added emphasis upon the two further subdivided groups of women (Sørensen 1997; 1991) and, perhaps, up to two subcategories of men (Bergebrant 2007). "This may suggest that appearance in the Danish Bronze Age, in addition to social rank and sex/gender, was also used to signal a categorical identity of women [and perhaps men], which may relate to gender identity" (Sørensen 1991: 98).

4.1.3 Male Presentation and the 'Warrior Ethos'

The widespread and numerous male uniform of Bronze Age Denmark: belted tunic, outer cape and, most particularly, the round cap, are thought to have been symbolic of royalty and power (Kristiansen & Larsson 2005). This symbolism is also represented in other forms, such as the decorative hat-shaped tutuli (often worn in pairs), displayed about the body by men and women (see also Randsborg & Christensen 2006), and the cult axes (also found in pairs) which, when viewed blade side down, appear to resemble capped figures. However, it has also been argued, specifically in reference to the

Muldbjerg Chieftain from Ringkøbing County in central Jylland (Glob 1974), that the round cap, with its appearance of imitation fur, perhaps served a more practical purpose by acting like a protective helmet for deflecting, or at the very least softening blows in the event of combat (Randsborg & Christensen 2006). This may be inferred from in the construction of the cap belonging to the burial from Muldbjerg. A glimpse at the inside of the hat reveals that it was carefully assembled by sewing together multiple layers of woolen fabric using several horizontal rows of stitches (Broholm & Hald 1940; see Figure 4.9, Appendix A), perhaps to ensure increased protection.

"… [T]he clothed body was the civilized body, the yardstick by which social behavior was measured" (Cleland, et al 2005b: xii). The cloak and tunic, characteristically worn by males and now observable only through the tumulus burials of the Danish Bronze Age, considered by some to have been an influential symbol of an emergent Nordic culture's power (Kristiansen & Larsson 2005). With the introduction of bronze came a new ideology, and the cultivation of newly important, complex social identities emphasizing outward appearance. For women this was achieved through bodily adornment, the application of various set combinations of regionally distinct bronze (and less often gold) ornaments, while male presentation bore a stronger corporeal foundation underscored by a preoccupation with grooming (Treherne 1995). This is evident from the widespread finds of bronze tweezers, razors and other such items in male burials.

The individuals themselves appear to have been generally similar in appearance, cleanly shaven and wearing the standard costume. This included a regionally similar outfit of weaponry, with the sword being most common. In Period II 64% of male burial finds from northeast Sjælland contained swords, rising to 72% in Period III (Gibbs 1987: 84). From the well preserved burials it seems that despite the uniformity in all other matters of male appearance, hairstyle was a matter of variety: examples include the man from Lille Dragshøj whose hair was short but for a tail which extended down the back of his neck; and the younger man from Borum Eshøj whose hair was of medium length with a

tousled, curling appearance (Kristiansen & Larsson 2005; see Figure 2.6, Appendix A). Another illustration includes the famous Early Bronze Age anthropomorphic razor handle from Sjælland depicting a man with straight bowl cut hair (Kristiansen & Larsson 2005; see Figure 4.10, Appendix A). Whatever the preference, it would seem that choice of hairstyle, and indeed overall presentation, was significant in the expression of self and cultural affinity (Alderhouse-Green 2004).

Used in the daily bodily maintenance of the living as well as the ritual grooming of the deceased, Bronze Age grooming implements played an intrinsic role in the emergent body culture and thereby the construction of identity (Treherne 1995; Vandkilde 1999). Central to this was hair, specifically that from the face and head. Paul Treherne emphasizes the significant power and potency often attributed to hair as a physical extension of the self which can be painlessly cut away and subsequently re-grown, stressing "…the need to forge a definition of the body which is not limited to the boundaries of the epidermis" (1995: 126). To this end a distinguishing male costume, complete with few sparsely placed ornamental fittings and sword, comprised the cultural aesthetic of the warrior, an outward communication "… within which the lived body reached an understanding of self" (Treherne 1995: 127). Through the use of these specialized grooming implements, the controlled display of beard and mane made hair growth a central element of warrior presentation (Kristiansen & Larsson 2005), as significant as the round cap or sword in the costume of the warrior's status. Daily use of the toilet articles is attested to in the signs of wear and sharpening along the blades of the razors and general mending of tweezers, and elsewhere in Europe such items have been found with the hair still attached (Treherne 1995). Sometimes occurring alongside the standard grooming set of razor and tweezers, awl-like needles are thought to have been used for tattooing (Treherne 1995); although awl needles have been found in both burial and depositional contexts (Aner & Kersten 1973-1993), no known example of this specific use occurs in the burials from Denmark (Randsborg & Christensen 2006).

A well groomed, shaven and perhaps tattooed man, wearing his round cap and great fur-like cape, under a gown securely belted with dagger in place, decorated long-sword strapped diagonally across his chest, and tutuli casting off the light, would have epitomised the Nordic Bronze Age male. However, while Sørensen (1997) sees three categories of costume in the material from Bronze Age Denmark, Bergebrant (2007), focussing more on the combination of artefact types as components of dress, suggests four groups or rather two subgroups within each of the overarching genders, male and female. Here she is in agreement with Sørensen's analysis of female attire and identity, but differs in regard to the men. Rather than just a singular category of male dress, Bergebrant (2007) identifies two variations in the style of garment which accompanies the cape and cap. The first, identified as a 'wrap-around', refers to the tunic worn fastened over the shoulders and belted at the waist by the male burials from Muldbjerg and Trindhøj (see Figures 4.11 and 4.12, Appendix A). The second variant is of a kilt style such as that worn belted round the waist by the older and younger men from Borum Eshøj graves A and B (see Figure 4.13, Appendix A), although the actual function of this garment is difficult to ascertain from its plain construction (Broholm & Hald 1940) and has only been observed twice, both articles having come from graves in the same barrow. A further difference is noted in the young man from Borum Eshøj who, unlike the others, wore no cap. This may have been linked to his age, however, such an assertion would be difficult to prove as the age of the other preserved males from Muldbjerg and Trindhøj has never been ascertained. In addition to this, Bergebrant (2007) notes two further variations in male costume, this time at the artefact level, neither of which corresponds to any specific style of garment. Typical among 'male' burials is the so called 'warrior ethos', marked by the presence of weaponry, which may occur in combination with small ornamental items and/or grooming implements. However, there is also a second, less pronounced, group of males who were buried only with costume associated accessories and appearance altering devices. These men, she proposes, may have rejected the masculine ideal of 'warrior' as part of an alternative manifestation of male identity (Bergebrant 2007).

Wear patterns on the outer surface of the garments found in the oak coffin burials are suggestive of the style in which the cloak and tunic would have been arranged on the body in conjunction with fittings such as double buttons, fibulae, tutuli and weaponry. From the burial at Muldbjerg it appears that the inner garment was wound twice about the body just below the arms, extended to the knees, and was secured around the waist with a belt and possibly over the shoulders by means of leather straps (Broholm & Hald 1940; Glob 1974) attached to the tunic. Affixed to one shoulder was a pair of round topped bronze tutuli, perhaps serving a functional purpose as well as a decorative one. Over his back and shoulders was a large semi-circular knee-length cape with the topmost rounded edge rolled over in the style of a collar. Here two fibulae were attached, as indicated by the presence of small paired holes left by the needle (Broholm & Hald 1940; see Figure 4.11, Appendix A). In addition to garment analysis, markings on the accompanying sword sheath show it to have been worn on a long strap from the left shoulder to the right hip, extending to the ground (Broholm & Hald 1940; Glob 1974). Alternatively, a skirt-like garment was worn, although for its plainness it has been suggested that perhaps this garment was, in actuality, worn only in death as a shroud (Broholm & Hald 1940). Wrapped once about the midsection and extending to the knee, the cloth was kept in place by a securely tied belt of rope. The edges of the fabric overlapped at the right hip, exposing the knee where an opening was created due to the slightly rounded cut of the hem.

One burial in particular, the old man from the Period II mound at Borum Eshøj, does not conform to the mode of male dress in terms of artefact content (see Figure 2.5, Appendix A). Aged around 50 to 60 years old he was found in what has consistently been thought of as a family barrow with, presumably, his elderly wife, now famously known as Borum Eshøj woman, and son, a young man, interred (on separate occasions) alongside him (Glob 1974). Neatly groomed with somewhat short (tannin stained though once blond) hair, manicured nails and well worn teeth (showing no signs of deterioration due to decay), he would have stood (with difficulty caused by rheumatism) at roughly five

foot, seven inches (Glob 1974). On his head he wore a woven round cap of wool, and was clothed in the kilt-like loin cloth over his lower body while his chest remained bare. Finally, his woollen cape, with its basic rounded top edging (Broholm & Hald 1940), was draped over him (Glob 1974) as a blanket. Attached to its side was the only item of adornment or otherwise enclosed with the burial, a wooden pin, measuring 2 ½ inches in length (Glob 1974). In this instance it seems possible that such a costume, the standard round cap, cape and plain loincloth worn with minimal accessories, may have been considered befitting for a man of his age.

Based upon examination of the garments alone, any obvious connections between costume and age are unrecognisable; however, considering the addition of accessories, (of what can be observed from the mortuary data) it appears that while women gained in or maintained status as they got older, male identity changed or perhaps simply dwindled with age (Bergebrant 2007). This is indicated by the consistency of artefact quantity and type in female burials across the lifecycle, whilst in male burials the deposition of weaponry, and indeed bronze, seems to exhibit a correlation with age. Younger males among the known sample of preserved graves were outfitted with a number of bronze articles (chief among them were swords); however, as mentioned above, the oldest known individual, that of the elder man from Borum Eshøj, appears to have been interred with only his clothing and a pin made of wood. If it could be established that younger men were associated with weapons whilst older men were not, this may indicate that a transition in gender identity accompanied the onset of old age among males in Danish Bronze Age society. Similarly, there may have been a certain age at which males were permitted to bear swords. Estimated to have been around 20-22 years of age at his time of death, the young man from Borum Eshøj was interred with, among other articles, a dagger which had been placed inside the sheath of a sword. Conceivably, licence to carry a sword was conferred when a specific age had been reached (Randsborg & Christensen 2006), possibly as a rite of passage. Perhaps weaponry and grooming implements represented an idealised masculine identity, which

as an individual became older, was no longer appropriate to his social position. Thus, this would provide a link between gender and the lifecycle, demonstrating an alteration of gender identity in line with physical maturity.

Archaeological approaches to males and masculinity in the Danish Bronze Age are heavily influenced by visions of an elite warrior class society (see Earl 2002; 2004; Harding 2000; Jensen 1982; Kristiansen 1987; 1998; 2002; Kristiansen & Rowlands 1998; Kristiansen and Larsson 2005; Randsborg 1973; 1984; Randsborg & Christensen 2006; Treherne 1995). Accordingly, a particular mode of costume, various objects and meticulous grooming, were employed in the maintenance of male warrior identity. The cape, tunic or kilt and round-cap ensemble is regarded as a uniform expressing authority. Implements such as the razors and tweezers found among contents of oak coffin burials, shaven faces and multiple styles of shorn hair, may indicate an identity of 'masculine beauty' unique to this position (Treherne 1995). However, it has also been suggested that rather than being established biologically, male identity was perhaps culturally affixed to the body through transformation of appearance (as in the rock carvings; see section 4.2.3 below) with the addition or subtraction of certain figurative elements (Yates 1993). Furthermore, there may have been a connection between age and gender identity that determined the juncture at which an individual could take up the sword (and other implements perhaps associated with the masculine ideal) as well as the point when it was no longer fitting for him to do so. Thus, a culturally ascribed ideal of maleness, characterised by costume, alteration of the body through meticulous grooming, and the addition of certain artifact types, may have been integral to the lifecycle of Bronze Age males in Denmark.

4.1.4 Cloth and Costume in the Late Bronze Age

The arrival of weaving technology in Denmark in the earlier Bronze Age was marked by a sense of experimentation with the unfamiliar. This can be demonstrated by the simple use of plain tabby technique and the general patchy quality and low thread count,

roughly about four threads per centimeter (Bender Jørgensen 1986), of much of the fabric. Garments were limited in form (i.e. skirts, blouses, capes, etc.) and colour with little variation in style. Although woolen textiles were a valuable commodity in and of themselves, in the display of social identity they served as a stage upon which objects of bronze, varying is size, shape and form, were arranged to convey meaning (Sørensen 1991; 1997).

Throughout the Bronze Age costume changes little (Sørensen 1991), with the exception of a few surviving examples dating to the Late Bronze Age, which speak of the development in textile production and technique. Due to the transformation in burial method, from inhumation in the earlier Bronze Age to predominately cremation from around 1200 BC (Coles & Harding 1979), only fragmented sections of fabric from the Late Bronze Age exist. From Period III an increase in quality can be seen in a small sample of fabrics based on the additional number of threads at 7 to 9 per centimetre, an example of which was found in the woman's burial at Melhøj (Bender Jørgensen 1986). In the Period V chieftain burial at Voldtoft, Fyn, an exceptionally well made scrap of nettle fabric with a count of 12 to 18 threads per centimeter was found. And at Haastrup, dating to Period VI, a small fragment of 2/2 spun twill, also with a thread count of 12 to 18, was discovered. A unique find for this period, the warp is woven over and under two threads at a time, where previously the threads only crisscrossed one another (Bender Jørgensen 1986). From these samples a sequence of textile evolution in Denmark becomes apparent. In the period leading up to the Iron Age transition, through the use of dye and exceedingly varied weaving techniques, cloth came into its own, minimizing the need for additional embellishing ornamentation (Sørensen 1991).

4.1.5 Summarizing Difference in Male and Female Dress

Among male inhumations a dominant mode of dress pervades characterized by the combination of a cloak worn over the shoulders, a tunic wound around the body just beneath the arms or skirt worn about the mid-section secured with a belt, and round cap,

all of woven brown wool (Broholm & Hald 1940). A small degree of variation seems to exist only in the type of garment, tunic or kilt worn about the torso beneath the cloak. Likewise, there is little deviation in the associated accessories and combinations thereof, with swords being the most commonly occurring. In contrast, female costume, as observed among the burials, varies greatly between two differing styles distinguished by the design of the skirts. On the upper body a woolen poncho-like top (Broholm & Hald 1940) with short sleeves is worn to the waist where it meets either a long, heavy tube like skirt extending to the ground, or a much shorter corded version which would have provided considerably less coverage. Both were secured with woven tasseled belts of wool and would have been worn with various decorative embellishments. Among those women found to be wearing the longer, draping skirt, delicately constructed net-like caps, woven in the sprang technique, were worn over long, often elaborately styled hair (Broholm & Hald 1940; Sørensen 1991). Additionally, it may be that a small group of women from Fyn wore head pieces or pinned their hair back using fibulae (Bergebrant 2007). Hair too was of significance for men, with both facial and cranial areas having been subject to apparently routine grooming (Treherne 1995), though for the latter, no consistency is apparent in the manner of cut from person to person. Footwear for men and women alike was fashioned from hide worn hair side out, and carefully secured to the feet with thongs (Hald 1972; see Figure 4.14, Appendix A).

Differentiation of male and female costume encourages the acceptance of socially recognized gender differences through reinforcement of expected gendered behavior (Eicher & Roach-Higgens 1993). Through this process of socialization, gender categories are naturalized, transmitted, maintained and made tangible (Sørensen 2000). Two stages of dress may be distinguished: first, the decisions involved in dressing oneself, how to wear which items and in what combination, and second, the social connotations expressed through what is worn in the act of being dressed (Sørensen 2006). In the Danish material it appears that at garment level there were two clear styles of female attire (Sørensen 1997), while males may also have been represented by up to

two variations (Bergebrant 2007); however, with the layering of additional elements selfhood could be further defined. Each individual component of dress bears its own significance. When combined they form a visual representation of personal and cultural identity, perhaps signaling to others such social factors as region of origin, age, marital status or class (Sørensen 1997). Thus, there may have been a further diffusion of categories in male appearance delineated by the presence or absence of weaponry in conjunction with the standard decorative embellishments and grooming tools (Bergebrant 2007).

Furthermore, it appears that social customs surrounding maturity and gender identity may have dictated who could carry certain objects and when. For males it seems particular items, most specifically swords, were linked to a valued concept of maleness. Thus, they were conferred upon an individual when he had reached the appropriate age, perhaps around twenty (Randsborg & Christensen 2006), to be relinquished later in favour of the simplicity considered suitable to advanced years (Bergebrant 2007). For females, it seems daggers were also introduced at about 20 years of age (Randsborg & Christensen 2006), though there is no suggestion of ideology concerning the reduction of accoutrements for elder women; rather they seem to have maintained social position (Bergebrant 2007). However, while this is an interesting possibility meriting further investigation, it must also be remembered that the burials upon which this hypothesis was formed represent but a small sample of a mortuary population whose remains are, in the main, understudied and poorly preserved.

4.2 Gender and Identity in Ideology of the Nordic Bronze Age

There can be no doubt that people of the Danish Bronze Age were steeped in religious activity (Kaul 1998) that was inseparable from the activities of everyday-life. Though the underlying beliefs are not necessarily made clear in findings of religious

iconography, through the large body of archaeological material we are introduced to the character of Bronze Age ritual and spiritual life (Kaul 1998). This is aided by pictorial representations in rock art and the votive and funerary deposition of life-size objects depicted therein. However, translation of the hidden meanings in rock art can also be an elusive task complicated further by our inability "… to distinguish clearly between what is a holy symbol and what is a representation of a ritual" (Kaul 1998: 57). However, this separation between what is symbolic and what is representative of ritual reality may not have existed for the creators of rock art (Kaul 1998) and figurines such as the Trundholm sun-chariot or those from Grevensvænge and Fårdal. Were these iconographic images and flourishes of display the manifestations of a polytheistic belief system or rather "… symbols for the concept of the holy" (Kaul 1998: 57)?

4.2.1 Gender and Identity in Artistic Representation of Bronze Age Denmark

4.2.2 Rock Art of the Danish Bronze Age

Almost completely restricted to boulders in Denmark, rock art from the Scandinavian Bronze Age is classified in two types, 'Hunting' and 'Agrarian'. The first includes game animals sometimes in conjunction with human figures and geometric symbols, evocative perhaps of hunting magic, whilst the second, largely depicting scenes from agrarian life, is often interpreted as having had a fertility function (Mandt 1987). Common 'Agrarian' themes include phallic figures, animals (cattle and horse), man made items such as carts, ploughs, ships, lurs and various assorted weaponry and to a lesser degree an assortment of other shapes such as circles, spirals, wheel crosses, hand and footprints, trees and snakes. Among these the symbol most frequently occurring throughout Scandinavia is the cup mark (Harding 2000; Mandt 1987). To produce such engravings in stone would have required specialised implements created specifically for the task, coupled with a working knowledge of the actions involved in their use, style and execution (Harding

2000) and an intimate understanding of those stories and themes being reproduced. This is reflected in the overwhelming likeness of certain rock art features found throughout southern Scandinavia. While small regional differences exist (perhaps due to individual styles and preferences), motifs such as cup marks, ships, ploughing and phallic figures are found throughout Norway, Denmark and Sweden, possibly the work of a skilled few (Kristiansen & Larsson 2005) from each region representing the interests of their communities. As rock art from the Danish Bronze Age is less abundant than elsewhere in Scandinavia, but analogous in terms of thematic content, in the paragraphs that follow I will discuss examples from Denmark as well as Southern Sweden.

4.2.3 Picturing Gender in Rock Art of the Danish Bronze Age

Although overwhelmingly present in votive offerings of the later Bronze Age (see discussion below), obvious female figures do not appear alongside the oft depicted potent male (Yates 1993; 2000). Due to the numerous representations of males, performing various actions alone or in conjunction with other motifs, Nordic rock art has commonly been thought a masculine domain representing themes of male virility. Conversely, men are greatly underrepresented among the (late Bronze Age) depositional figurine finds, often interpreted as indicative of female fertility, offerings perhaps to a venerated goddess. This discrepancy can possibly be accounted for if one considers that each act (the creation of rock art and deposition of votive offerings) may have functioned for a different end as the manifestation of a belief in two separate male and female deities, each fulfilling a separate function within the same cosmological system (Mandt 1986). However, a closer examination of the material reveals the inaccuracy of such thinking.

The lack of clear representation in the rock art has not hindered speculation as to the possibility of female symbolism. Generally, among those attempting to pinpoint women, one of three conditions has been considered symbolic of a female presence: a ponytail thought to indicate long hair, a well placed cup mark, or the absence of weaponry. To

this end, Gro Mandt (1987) asserts further investigation of the varied 'agrarian' images reveals that although distinct types of female figures mirroring those of the phallic male are absent, women were not necessarily missing. Considered in a different light, ships, wagons, snakes, spirals and trees may all express, in some sense, feminine traits: boats, may have carried female divinity; snakes (for instance the Fårdal figurines in which a woman, the 'snake goddess' appears with, and perhaps controls, a serpent) and wagons (associated with the harvest and 'earth mother' mythology) were perhaps attributes of an unseen fertility goddess; spirals, potentially representative of lunar cycles and menstruation (see also Randsborg & Christensen 2006), and trees an expression of nature's regenerative life force, were possibly emblems of a female deity. The symbol most frequently interpreted as connoting feminine significance is the cup mark, as at Fossum, Bohuslän, Sweden, where it is placed between the thighs of a long haired figure and thought to represent the fertile powers of the female sex (Gibbs 1987; Kristiansen & Larsson 2005; Mandt 1987; see Figure 4.15, Appendix A). For some this figure brings to mind the divine, a fertility goddess, represented also by similar pony-tailed forms lacking in obvious sexual characteristics (Kristiansen & Larsson 2005), i.e. having no phallus or cup mark. However, the true meaning of such ambiguous figures (and indeed the majority of rock art motifs) is ultimately unclear and subject to wide speculation (Malmer 1981).

The so called 'divine marriage', 'bridal couple' or 'spring wedding', for example, is an image commonly supposed to depict a male and female engaging in ritual copulation as part of an annual ceremony to welcome in the renewing energy of spring (Glob 1974; Kristiansen & Larsson 2005; Mandt 1987). In a number of examples from Southern Sweden the male figure possesses an extended phallus and in some instances a shield or sword, and the supposed female, has a lengthy ponytail which trails behind her (see Figure 4.16, Appendix A for examples from Böhuslan). But for the potent male, gender is otherwise not indicated in any obvious way, a feature which could render the assumed male-female intercourse false. Rather, this image may be suggestive of sexual relations

between two men (Bapty & Yates 1991; Yates 2000) or an intentionally created ambiguity (Harding 2000). Neither are scenes of coitus between man and beast so uncommon in Scandinavian rock art (see Figure 4.17, Appendix A for an example from Böhuslan, Sweden). Perhaps then concepts of sexuality and fertility were not as rigid in the Nordic Bronze Age as was previously assumed, indicating that caution must be exercised in the application of contemporary Western gender-sexuality ideology to interpretations of prehistoric iconography. However, it must also be considered that not all rock art was created for the same purpose, and while some images may have been created to depict scenarios ritually enacted by living participants, others may simply reflect the communal values and ideology of their originators (Harding 2000).

4.2.4 Binary Gender or Fluid Identity?

While Mandt (1987) is open to exploring possibilities for the presence of women, searching among the myriad of non-anthropomorphic symbols in the rock art, no image exists that can be identified, without a doubt, as representing females. That is to say, obvious signs of female genitalia, breasts, or human figures including either of these, are not known in Southern Scandinavia for this period (Yates 2000). As such, there are only phallic figures and non-phallic figures, with occurrences of the former outnumbering the latter by roughly 3 to 1 (Levy 1999: 66). Those irrefutably male, appear dominant and virile, while in those which Tim Yates (2000) describes as ‘female or passive male’, sex is undefined. An example can be found in the Maltegård stone from Sjælland, Denmark, depicting what is classically termed a ‘spring wedding’ (see Figure 4.18, Appendix A). In this scene two figures stand facing each other on either side of a cup mark, arms outstretched toward one another as if in approach. Positioned to the left is a phallic figure, powerful in his display of potency, and on the right, a passive ‘female’, determined to be such based upon the appearance of a short line vertically extending from between the legs, said to represent her genitalia. In an unbiased approach this of course cannot be stated with any certainty, however, time and again, equivalent scenes are cited as depicting heterosexual coitus in the consecration of marriage. Similarly, cup

marks and long-haired or pony-tailed figures are symbols most prevalently supposed to indicate the essence of women, especially when depicted in juxtaposition, i.e. a cup mark near or between the legs of a 'female'.

Though there is no substantial evidence supporting this theory, were it the case that cup marks and figures with long hair represented females, why assume the singular appearance of a line extending from a figure with little or no hair, to be representational of a penis rather than a vulva (Yates 2000)? Cup marks also occur floating amid groups of men as well as animals, whilst it is not uncommon to find pony-tailed figures wielding swords (weaponry being tacitly agreed upon as province of the male). Perhaps, then, cup marks are not vaginal at all, but refer instead to the anus. As argued by Yates (2000), it seems far more likely that the Maltegård design, and scenes like it, could just as easily be depictions of coitus between two males as between man and woman. Such potentialities are threatening to the modern sense of masculinity from which these interpretations derive. What in all possibility is a scene of coitus involving two men—one phallic, powerful and active, the other passive and non-erect—is transformed into normative heterosexual intercourse, thus the female is conveniently inserted as a way of avoiding confrontation with the subversive (Yates 2000). Furthermore, closer examination of the rock carvings seems to suggest that masculinity and sexual identity were not guaranteed by biological processes. Rather, they were achieved through cultural ascription of the body, whereby specific removable signs—a phallus, enlarged calves, stag horns, weaponry—could be attached to the body's exterior, thus separating the male from the female and establishing the 'masculine ideal' (Yates 1993: 67).

From this perspective, the subject matter portrayed in the rock art does not clearly demonstrate a system of binary gender. The costumes may seem to indicate a more dichotomous organization, appearing to consist of two dominant categories, male and female, plus an additional female subcategory, with little overlap between male and female dress. In this sense, it could be argued overall that the expression of gender

differentiation through physical appearance was more subtle. However, while a rigid organization was not indicated, gender ideology articulated through the (observable) costumes was of a less fluid nature. Conversely, the rock art tells another story, perhaps suggesting that gender ideology was expressed differently through different mediums. Therefore, costume alone cannot tell the whole story, only a part of it.

4.2.5 The Anthropomorphic Figurines

The earliest known example of bronze anthropomorphic figures in Denmark comes from a 'male' burial in the Period II round barrow of Tinghøj (Kristiansen & Larsson 2005). It depicts a human head on the handle end of a razor. Featuring straight, roughly cheek length hair and a shorter fringe, this initial model reflects something of how Nordic males may have appeared in the earlier Bronze Age (see Figure 4.19, Appendix A). Of those figurines discovered, twelve have been determined to be female, three of which were decorative components of serviceable items, appearing as the head of a dress pin and crowning the ends of two knife handles (Gibbs 1987). Only three figurines identified as male from this period have ever been found in Denmark: the 'twins' from Grevensvænge (of which one has since gone missing) and another nude representation from Viborg (Broholm 1947). Each representation varies in quality of craftsmanship and rendering of the bodies (Gibbs 1987); however, accurate, lifelike presentation of the human form was not necessarily the creator's desired aim (Harding 2000).

4.2.6 Interpretation and the Traditional Perspective

Cross culturally and spanning prehistory, figurines have most often been interpreted as gods and goddesses molded into tangible forms in the service of an idealised ritual function (Gimbutas 1999; Goodison & Morris 1998). In Denmark, presumed deities, previously represented only as etchings, now appear as miniature figures frozen in some ceremonial activity, their bodies displaying ritual dress, cultic gear held aloft. Dominantly female, these statuettes were moulded from bronze and demonstrate a link

with the rise in votive deposition of female ornaments, having been discovered in such contexts-either as part of a larger hoard (for instance, the Fårdal figurines) or on their own. In the continuing debate concerning the meaning of such forms (most especially those termed 'Venus' figurines of the Upper Paleolithic) interpretation has come from many directions, more commonly the unfounded assertion that figurines, specifically female representations, embody "… a prehistoric obsession with sexuality or fertility" (Nelson 1997: 156), symbolising the sexualised female body or 'Mother Goddess', a deity capable of bestowing and perhaps removing fertility at will.

In Bronze Age Denmark archaeological interpretation tends toward the divine, envisioning the figurines as representational forms of gods and goddesses. Although their (assumed) ritual function is little disputed, it has been suggested of the Grevensvænge figurines that they were not simply divine entities in miniature, but rather represented individuals participating in an elaborate ceremonial scene, a figural reenactment of a real event (see Figure 4.20, Appendix A). Flanked by tumbling female acrobats, the kneeling pair of horned axe bearers and erect woman seem part of a holy procession (Kaul 1998). More complex still, the men and women depicted may have been spiritual leaders within the community (priests/priestesses), or may have acted as deities, or perhaps both. Of the figurines in this set, only a single helmeted 'male' minus his great axe and one acrobat remain; the majority are now missing, preserved only through a drawing made shortly after their discovery. Traditionally, the two 'males' are identified as the divine twins and the standing woman as a sort of snake or earth goddess (Glob 1974). In another incarnation she occurs again, this time on her knees as the only human being amongst a host of beasts in the figurines from Fårdal, pursued by, or perhaps commanding, the snake at her back. Reconstructions visualise these figurines as having been mounted (by platforms which were found attached to their feet) to 'cult boats' of wood resembling those depicted throughout Scandinavian rock art and on the razor from Vestrup (Glob 1974), thus enabling their use at ritual events. These interpretations will be explored further with regard to gender in section 4.2.8.

4.2.7 Form and design

While archaeological interest in figurines is evident, as indicated by the subject's large body of research, the bronze figurines from Denmark have received little attention in terms of gender ideology, identity and the attitudes held by those who created and used them. This is perhaps because there is nothing immediately striking that characterises their appearance. Rather than consisting of exaggerated form or intricate design such as the famous Minoan figurines with large bare breasts and intricately detailed costume, for example) they seem unremarkable, perhaps even crude (Broholm 1947). Far from being elaborations of the feminine physique which commonly excite the archaeological imagination, there is little sexual dimorphism among the Grevensvænge figurines (see Figures 4.21 and 4.22, Appendix A). Here, females look much like the 'males': thin, almost bandy or stretched, and without hips, identifiable only by the presence of their small, wide-set, bud-like breasts. These seem to have been stuck on as an afterthought, making the females appear more as pubescent girls than mature women, but perhaps that was the intention.

Amongst the female tumblers, calf and thigh muscles appear defined, torso stretched and arms bent backward at the shoulder indicating rapid movement. The 'males' kneel, their thin calves bent beneath them and equally thin arms bent at angles to the body, one hand upon elongated chest, the other (now missing), raised above at a right angle, bears the axe. In posture the 'snake goddess' is more unique among her cohorts, standing erect, left arm bent square to torso, palm placed flat upon chest, right arm held out widely, palm open, she seems to be drawing attention to a secondary figure beside her (now missing, but thought to have been a winding serpent). Comparatively, the female figurine from Fårdal is different: though the body would still not be described as curvaceous, rather than a slim midsection, the torso is more barrel-shaped (see Figure 4.23, Appendix A). Directly upon it sits a round head, and from it protrude thin whip-like arms; this is a body free of angles. Bare-chested, she assumes a kneeling posture,

left hand upon right breast, right arm held aloft, touching fingers to thumb she makes a circle or perhaps a clutching fist, now empty.

Other less well known figurines include a female from Fangel Torp, another, very badly weathered, from Island Farø and a third from Viksø (Broholm 1947). The seated female from Fangel Torp on Fyn (see Figure 4.24, Appendix A), nude but for ear and neck rings, was removed from a bog as part of a large hoard containing numerous ornaments and a sickle, perhaps linking her to fertility and the harvest (Glob 1974). Perched astride a malformed stool, legs bent beneath her, there is little physical definition, though one can possibly make out the subtle curvature of buttock and hip, her hands cover her breasts (Broholm 1947; Glob 1974). Facial features on the figurine from Island Farø are unrecognisable and both arms are disintegrated (see Figure 4.25, Appendix A). Standing, short cone-shaped legs apart, her hands are placed just beneath her breasts. She wears nothing but for double neck rings and possibly a girdle round the hips (though garment detail is uncertain due to corrosion), making visible the features of her sex, an uncommon trait shared with the Viksø figurine (Broholm 1947). She is also nude, donning only double neck rings, and an identical stance. Once again the breasts seem nib-like; however, naval and buttocks are also apparent, and as with the female from Island Farø, so are the hips (see Figure 4.26, Appendix A). Most strikingly, they are the only figurines of the Danish Bronze Age whose genitals are indicated. The unusually wide stance (with feet roughly a shoulder width apart) and naked framing hips serve to emphasize their pronounced sexual organs.

Of those figures preserved, common bodily features include a prominent chin and protruding nose, with ears like half moons mounted to the head. Foreheads are of reduced size while eyes appear large and round, as circles stamped into the face or pushing out of it; on the eyes of the female from Fårdal is a thin layer of shining gold. Costume is also consistently presented with the majority of female figurines clothed in corded skirts similar to that from Egtved (with the exception of the Grevensvænge

'snake goddess' whose lengthy skirt most resembles that from Borum Eshøj), whilst the torso remains bare. Decoration upon the head is perhaps indicative of elaborate coiffure as seen at Borum Eshøj or Skrydstrup, where the hair was piled atop the crown or at the nape of the neck and secured with fine netting or multiple windings of wool cord. Adornment includes plain or twisted neck and arm rings and on some figurines, large hoops are worn through stretched ears.

4.2.8 Reinterpretation, Gender and Identity

While the possibility that these statuettes represent a real-time ceremony complete with semi-naked acrobats and horned axe bearers can hardly be discounted, figurines of the Danish Late Bronze Age must also be considered in terms of gender in that they display garments and accessories of the kind associated with earlier burials, but also, though varying in quality and shape, deliberately emphasize specific sex-linked bodily features (Gibbs 1987). This is certainly true of the females, proving that despite the marked absence of overtly female forms in rock art and significantly low ratio of females in the burial record, women are not altogether absent from Bronze Age representational art. In contrast, men are highly visible in the mortuary record, yet so few figurines appear to be masculine, and though overwhelmingly present throughout Scandinavian petroglyphs as the potent male, this sex-linked image is unknown in figural form (Gibbs 1987). Of the two that are known from Grevensvænge, neither displays overtly sexual attributes, meaning they can not readily be identified as male. Rather, it is due to obvious differences, the lack of breasts and differential costume (helmet and loin cloth rather than string skirt for instance), that they are recognised as masculine representations. Furthermore, whilst the third 'male' figurine from Viborg is nude, it is also badly weathered and, according to Broholm, "…crudely fashioned, with no details such as the hair or the like" (1947: 201). It would seem, then, that while masculinity and the male ideal were highly desirable statements to be rendered through the medium of rock art, those characteristics considered womanly (or perhaps most obviously signalling women)

were intentionally highlighted in the figurines (Gibbs 1987). Thus, anthropomorphic figures must be read as an indication of gender ideology in the later Danish Bronze Age.

As previously mentioned, display of identity through the manipulation of material effects formed a vital part of Bronze Age culture in Denmark. This too is discernable in the decorative features depicted on each figurine, neck rings and corded skirts appearing most frequently, perhaps highlighting a secondary form of media through which individual identity was translated and conveyed. Assuming they were strictly utilized in the service of ritual performance precludes deliberation of any deeper significance, meanings and ideologies the figurines may have symbolised within their historical context (Goodison & Morris 1998). Though they may well have been created in the image of celestial beings, this interpretation should be treated with care as the subject of further enquiry, not affirmation (Goodison & Morris 1998). In this sense, whilst there is little archaeological evidence to substantiate the identification of anthropomorphic figurines as divine entities, it may be more beneficial to regard them as "…representations of prehistoric individuals" (Bailey 1994: 321; see also Levy 1999: 65). Though this idea has been met with opposition from some archaeologists who feel that the concept of the 'individual' is not relevant to prehistory (see, for example, Thomas 1996; 2002, 2004 as cited in Knapp & van Dommelen 2008), others have argued that individuality, in the sense of one's own self awareness, could have played a significant role in the experiences and relationships of people in past societies (Fowler 2004a; 2004b; Knapp & van Dommelen 2008). From this perspective, it may be that the anthropomorphic figurines were intended to depict persons, rather than deities, as they were perceived in communities of the Danish Bronze Age.

4.2.9 Gender and Identity in Votive deposits of the Late Bronze Age in Denmark

4.2.10 Rise of the Deposition: Votive Offerings and Hoards

Following on from the change to cremation, the numerous objects that once accompanied the dead were curtailed, shrinking in size and quantity. Long swords were sometimes represented as miniatures with the smaller articles of bronze such as razors, tweezers, daggers, fibulae, rings (arms, finger, and neck) and tutuli appearing most frequently. This was met with a great increase in the tradition of votive depositions or hoards, in which items of bronze (and less often gold) were removed from circulation, buried in the ground or committed to a watery location (often lakes or bogs) deemed sacred. In cases of dry land deposition articles were arranged carefully in a large ceramic vessel or simply placed together in the earth (Levy 1979). Alternatively, when intended for a wet environment, containers of bronze, generally ornamental belt-boxes, were used (Randsborg & Christensen 2006). The precise order into which the enclosed objects were organized, each item fitted inside the next according to size or shape, is suggestive of a singular act of deposition, rather than the accumulation of articles assembled over time (Levy 1979). Jørgen Jensen (1993) delineates three categories: single finds (items deposited individually) 'single-artefact-type' finds (numerous articles of the same type deposited together) and 'multitype' finds (numerous articles of different types deposited together), within the overarching category 'deposits'.

4.2.11 Interpretation and the Gender Perspective

Based upon their content and the use of ethnographic parallels, Janet Levy (1979; 1982) argues that ritual hoards, those consisting of wholly deposited items (usually jewellery, dress fittings and ornamented weapons) having had significant social value prior to their treatment as depositional material, were a tool of Bronze Age elite for the display of social, political and religious influence (Levy 1979; Verlaeckt 2000). Levy (1979) refers

to these items as ‘sumptuary’ for their visual appeal, impractical nature, specialised qualities (having been manufactured by a skilled artisan from imported metal) and tendency to occur in prearranged sets. Just as the (supposed) possessions of an individual accompanied them into the earth upon death in the earlier Bronze Age (such as a sword, axe and razor in a ‘male’ burial or neck collar, arm ring and dagger in a ‘female’ burial), the artefacts which make up the Late Bronze Age hoards display a similar quality of personal ownership (Levy 1979; Jensen 1982).

Consisting of one (the least complex and lowest ranking) to five (the greatest complexity, thereby displaying the highest rank representative of an elite personage) ornament types, these sets are organized according to prescribed rules and reflect the regional degree of social ranking in Danish Bronze Age society (with three areas, Sjælland, Fyn and northern Jylland appearing distinctive). The highest ranking sets, those which represent the greatest level of socially acquired attributes, and thereby degree of authority, occur the least frequently (Levy 1981). These items functioned first as status markers and were later deposited as part of an elite ritual, perhaps concerned with the maintenance of fertility (here the Levy draws connections between hoards, their often water related locales and the phallic figures often depicted in rock art as having an association with select items that appear in the hoards, i.e. axes and horned helmets) as having been determined by supreme beings (Levy 1981). “Thus there is evidence in the nature of their combination, and in the decreasing numbers of complex combinations that a multi-level sumptuary system was present in Period V Denmark as a whole” (Levy 1979: 24).

The content of those items deposited changed too. Whilst depositions of the earlier Bronze Age were dominated by objects considered to be of a masculine nature, Late Bronze Age hoards were undeniably saturated with ‘female’ associated ornaments (Glob 1974; Levy 1982; Mandt 1987; Sørensen 1987). Such items were often deposited with similar types (i.e. multiple pieces which form sets of jewellery unified by decorative

motif), but also in seemingly prescribed combinations with items of a different character. In the Period IV Brøndumgård hoard from Jylland, female ornaments were deposited together with what are thought to be locally produced horse mounts which may have been attached to a wheeled vehicle. A common manufacturer is indicated by the similar decoration of the objects, suggesting that perhaps they were used in the same context, perhaps a cult-wagon ceremony attended by many, presided over by a priestess and resulting in the sacrifice of her ritual trappings: jewellery, horse gear and wagon fittings (Varberg 2005). Similar finds both ornamental and equestrian in content occur throughout Northern Europe, more commonly emerging from Period V (Varberg 2005).

This is not to say that women at this time were considered more important than men, where men were previously more dominant in funerary and ritual contexts, but that both males and females had access to valued resources and played a key role in ritual activities, though perhaps in differing arenas (Levy 1995; 1999; 2006). Also deposited in Period IV Jylland, the Resenlund hoard displays a different character still, consisting of ornaments, weapons and tools, all heavily worn and fragmented. In this instance the items would seem to be the remains of a small ceremony carried out by the members of one or more families from a neighboring community (Varberg 2005), each contributing a possession of personal value. 'Female' associated items make up an increasingly substantial portion of multitype hoards from Montelius Period IV; however, masculine objects still account for a larger proportion of finds (Jensen 1993) making assumptions regarding a rise in female status mistaken (Verlaeckt 2000). Nevertheless, consideration should be given to the notable emphasis of 'female symbolism' exerted in the hoarded material at this time. From Period IV, the number of ornament type hoards increases from 42% to 73% in Period VI, with many of the items displaying coordinating designs, indicating that their original creator intended they be worn as a set (Verlaeckt 2000).

4.2.12 Diachronic Changes in Deposition and Gender Identity

Throughout the Bronze Age the volume and features of hoarding activity display a wide variation between periods from region to region (Randsborg & Christensen 2006). From the Late Neolithic through to Period I of the Bronze Age there is a notable increase in metal depositions culminating in a peak of intensity in Period II (Jensen 1993), with nearly all committed objects retaining a 'male' character (Jensen 1993; Kaul 1998), primarily large flanged axes. In the main, depositions from Period I consist of singular items and little metallic wealth is invested in funerary contexts. This continued dominance of single, male depositions (now including swords and spears) continues into Period II with individually deposited sacral items appearing for the first time and a majority of hoard activity occurring in (but not restricted to) the Danish Isles. At this time substantial quantities of Bronze are committed with the dead, appearing in both female and (predominantly) male graves (Jensen 1993). Period III is marked by the emergence of cremation and a dramatic decline in deposition throughout Denmark. The general feeling is one of discontinuity, perhaps resulting from a dwindling supply of metal (Jensen 1993; Kaul 1998).

Around 75% of Denmark's total number of hoards belong to the Late Bronze Age (Kaul 1998), at which time there was also a massive influx of imported materials (Jensen 1993), and the changing value of bronze items was reflected in their size and weight. No longer produced for their utilitarian benefits, many objects were valued according to their potential for publicly ostentatious display (Pydyn 2000). By Period IV, cremation had clearly been established as the preferred funerary rite, accompanied by a decrease in the type and quantity of furnishings. The bulk of metalwork in circulation is deposited, most often in an area of wetland: multitype hoards, largely represented by the ornamental objects, but also male associated single deposits and single type votive deposits of cult items (Jensen 1993). Concentrations of deposition occur in northern Jutland, northeastern Fyn and western Sjælland (Verlaeckt 2000).

In Period V the practice of deposition reached its pinnacle, but otherwise continued in the trends representative of Period IV. 'Female' items and hoards containing multiple objects are substantially present (Jensen 1993). Additionally, rare exceptions to the deliberately formulaic nature of the votive deposits—among the specific object type combinations that consistently appear, irregularities such as the grouping of a belt plate, an item known to be associated with females, with objects not distinctly male or female—could point to the presence and participation of third genders (Levy 2006). Distribution patterns indicate the highest concentrations of depositional activity as taking place on Fyn and Sjælland (Verlaeckt 2000). Between Periods V and VI the number of single-type depositions containing objects of a more unusual nature intensified and was sustained through to the Iron Age (though in scant quantities and limited areas of habitual use following Period V), providing a marked contrast to multi-object hoards which drastically decline in Period VI (Verlaeckt 2000). Hoarding ultimately appears to have been restricted to the Danish Isles with little evidence of its continued practice found in Jylland (Jensen 1993).

4.2.13 Ideology, Gender and Identity: Binary or Fluid?

Though less widespread, rock art of the Danish Bronze Age is tied to that of its Nordic neighbours by an often implied focus on principles of supreme masculinity, ultimately seeming to represent an ideology of maleness (Yates 1993; 2000). Nevertheless, these and other such renderings from the Nordic Bronze Age may express a greater depth of meaning than has formerly been considered. Numerous scenes depicting copulation have been continuously (mis)interpreted from the perspective of a culture threatened by any portrayal of maleness that does not conform to its own views of masculinity. This influence has led to the hetero-sexualising of images which might, in actuality, have represented homosexual intercourse or something further, as in the various scenes of coitus between man and animal (Yates 2000). Even so, despite presenting an alternative perspective to the traditional binary approach, Yates fails to consider that these figures,

being neither masculine nor feminine, may have been intentionally neutered in representation of an ambiguous gender category.

Another mode of artistic representation involving the human form is anthropomorphic figurines. While many of these depict females, only three are thought to be male. This contrasts with the dominance of male figures in the rock art, for their absence from this media is noticeably distinct. However, as with the sexless 'female' figures represented in the rock art, the so called 'male' anthropomorphic figurines are completely lacking in anatomical features which would indicate they are anything but ambiguous. Furthermore, in addition to a loin cloth and helmet (such as that from Viksø), the 'male' Grevensvænge figurines each appear to be wearing what is typically considered a female ornament, the neck ring. Though only two known figurines are distinguishable as female by the presence of genitalia, the others are marked by their bare breasts (Broholm 1947). Once again it would seem the artist may have been stressing ambiguity. Although figurines from other geographical locations and chronological periods have been considered in this manner (see Bolger 2003; Hamilton 2000; Ribeiro 2002), those from Bronze Age Denmark have received little attention, and all of it to the exclusion of non-binary genders. Also interesting is the connection of anthropomorphic figurines with the many hoards of 'female' artefacts deposited in the later Bronze Age. Through employment in changing contexts they evolved, accumulating significance. As statuettes, modelled to represent the female, they perhaps conveyed an initial symbolism; however, as objects also deposited ritually in connection with 'female' votive offerings, they assumed a secondary meaning.

Similarly, objects worn and used in daily life, in this case, ornamental items of bronze, enhanced appearance, aiding in the comprehension of self identity and the enactment of lived experience (Hoskins 1998). When utilised in a votive deposit they perform a ceremonial role, thus through their employment in varying contexts, first as visual embellishments narrating a personal history, then as components of a ritual deposition,

these objects developed biographies (Gosden & Marshall 1999). Through their connection to gendered bodies, items in the hoards symbolically represent gender. They are movable parts of the self, components of gender and identity (Hoskins 1998). The gendered metaphors and ideals they embody are deposited with them irrespective "...of the sex (and sexuality) of the person with whom the object was associated" (Sørensen 2000: 132); however, the altered context of their use may also modify the meaning of the objects deposited (Sørensen 2006). In this sense, through their relationship to the body and coordinated deposition, items committed as constituents of a ritual hoard both structure and participate in gendered performance. However, many of the artefact types attributed to 'male' and 'female' hoards have never been observed in conjunction with remains whose sex was determined osteologically. Therefore, interpretation of the votive deposits has largely been based on the same assumptions governing the assignment of sex to burials (see Chapter 5 for further discussion). This is the product of analyses which view the social structure of Bronze Age Denmark through a hierarchical model (Levy 2006) and gender as organized in accordance with binary oppositions.

However, as shown by Levy (2006) a heterarchical model of organisation holds greater potential for exposing variability in the society of Bronze Age Denmark. In the lateral organisation of a heterarchical society, constructs like gender are intersected by other variables such as age and social position. In such a model emphasis is placed on variability which allows that identity is influenced by a number of social factors and is, thereby, prone to fluctuation. Accordingly, heterarchical societies are characterized by a multiplicity of social categories with which people identify, and may thus promote more flexible gender regimes. From this perspective, Levy (2006) suggests that certain exceptional votive deposits may be evidence for the existence of third genders in Bronze Age Denmark. Here she refers to hoards of a less rigidly organised character than was the norm, such as those in which non-gender specific artefact types were deposited alongside a quintessentially female object (a belt plate, for example). This would imply that the deposition of ritual deposits was not just a male or female activity and,

furthermore, that gender categorisation was characterised by greater multiformity than is generally accepted by academia. Though a clear pattern of gender organisation is not visible from the votive deposits, the viewpoint of heterarchy offers a means of inspecting the material in a manner more conducive to a consideration of diversity (Levy 2006). More specifically, variability, in terms of identity and perhaps multiple gender categories, may be more readily observed in a social model open to difference than one governed strictly by hierarchical forces.

Each context—costume, representational art and votive deposition— is an illustration of ideology as conceived by Danish Bronze Age society. Altogether they suggest that the restrictions of a binary model do not account for the possible complexity of gender identities. It seems that, as suggested by the analyses of Yates and Levy, within the rock art and votive deposits there may have been a greater degree of fluidity expressed than a binary position allows for. Themes in the rock art as reconsidered by Yates (1993; 2000), though problematic, may be more accurate than earlier, normative interpretations. Similarly, pertaining to social organisation in Bronze Age Denmark, Levy (2006) argues for an approach which would promote diversity over uniformity, citing anomalies in the composition of certain votive deposits as possible evidence of greater flexibility in gender categories than previously supposed. However, amid this complexity there also appear to be elements of binary division. For instance, there seems to be a clear separation between males and females concerning artistic representation. Phallic male figures form a dominant theme in the rock art to the exclusion of obvious female symbolism, whilst females are highly represented among the anthropomorphic figurines. Through their use in changing contexts, the figurines exude a sense of fluidity, which, alongside their general focus on the female, and perhaps, concepts of femininity, should be considered from the perspective of gender. Nevertheless, of the known figurines from Bronze Age Denmark only three are considered to represent males largely based upon their lack of breasts. Furthermore, in the deposition pattern there appears to be a shift in focus over time from items generally considered to be male, to artefact types

traditionally regarded as female. However, while this points to a degree of volatility, for the most part, the separation of items and later prominence of 'female' over 'male' type hoards suggests some binary division. Thus, though a distinct pattern of gender structure is not evident, the need to move beyond a binary framework in the pursuit of prehistoric gender identity is clear.

4.3 Dynamic Gender, Dynamic Identity

It has been suggested that within the few preserved examples of costume from the oak coffin graves of Bronze Age Denmark up to four variations of dress can be observed, suggesting perhaps four social categories within the groupings of male and female. Two costume styles, the tunic, which seems more standard, and the kilt-like garment observed only on the men from Borum Eshøj characterise males, perhaps further subdivided at artefact level by the presence or absence of weaponry (Bergebrant 2007). For females, two well defined subcategories are indicated, distinguished mainly by the differing types of skirt, but also by variations in ornamentation (Sørensen 1997). Additionally, there is a visible connection between skirt and hair style with one dictating the other, while on the isle of Fyn it seems headgear, secured by a bronze fibula, may have been worn by some women, perhaps as a further means of social distinction. Consequently, gender may not have been the most significant factor stressed through costume at all. While the extent of fluidity present in Danish Bronze Age society may not be reflected in dress, other aspects of gender ideology are exhibited through alternative modes of representation. Costume can be employed in challenging conventional ideology (Sørensen 2000), for example, though appropriation and manipulation of the most rigidly gendered items (Kirkham 1996). However, firm evidence of this has only been observed in one known case, a burial from Haraldsted, Sjælland (Aner & Kersten 1976, record number 1093B; Bennike 1985: 199, Ølmoshuse), the implications of which will be discussed in greater detail in Chapter 6. In other words, constructions of gender and identity visible in the outward appearance of an individual from Bronze Age Denmark may be inconsistent

with ideology as expressed in aspects of artistic representation and cosmology. Though gender and identity do appear to have been important factors stressed in the burials, in this context they do not convey the full picture. A direct reading of costume alone might suggest that gender was binary in construction or that gender ideology was less divergent than may have been the case; therefore, a more thorough appraisal, in which supplementary forms of evidence are contrasted, is required.

In the rock art, for instance, human figures from the South Scandinavian Bronze Age have only ever been interpreted according to the binary gender oppositions which structure modern Western society. Among the figural representations two groups exist, however only one of them displays distinguishable characteristics indicative of sex. While figures clearly definable as male are discernable by the presence of large protruding phalluses, the second group, traditionally identified as females, appear to be sexless. The distinct absence of conspicuous female imagery has continually been explained away by interpretations which insist on female presence in agrarian symbols, most especially the cup mark, generally interpreted as symbolising the vulva (Gibbs 1998; Kristiansen & Larsson 2005; Mandt 1987). However, the presence and placement of these signs do not convey any sense of consistency as they are also depicted alongside lone males and scenes of male-animal copulation. Furthermore, the so called 'female' figure often appears in what are referred to as the 'marriage' or 'spring wedding' scenes. Here, she is argued to be engaged in ceremonial coitus with her partner, the phallic male, on the basis of three features: a long mane, the presence of a cup mark and finally, lack of a phallus.

More to the point, conventional logic demands that when a potent figure appears to be copulating with another whose biology is not indicated, it could only be that the first is a male and the other a female. For this reason, though the same sexless figures exist elsewhere wielding swords (generally treated as the quintessential male object in archaeology of the Danish Bronze Age; see Chapter 5) they are identified as female,

thereby avoiding any uncomfortable connotations that might challenge the contemporary model of masculinity to which these images are held (Bapty & Yates 1991; Yates 2000). Alternatively, it has been suggested that both figures featured in such iconic scenes are male, that the cup mark could represent other bodily orifices, and that non-phallic and pony-tailed figures need not be considered female at all (Bapty & Yates 1991; Yates 2000). However, though Yates' analysis demonstrates an alternative viewpoint, his 'female or passive male' category does not transcend the traditional binary perspective. Throughout his line of reasoning Yates argues there is no unassailable reason to consider these non-phallic figures female and that to do so without defendable reason is biased. Nevertheless, in his use of the terminology 'female or passive male', Yates adheres to a binary methodology. In accordance with sound archaeological reasoning these figures should be regarded as ambiguous if undefined by sexual characteristics.

Similarly, interpretation of anthropomorphic figurines from the later Danish Bronze Age has also been restricted to the limitations of binary division. However, while male themes appear to dominate the rock art, the reverse is true of the anthropomorphic figurines, of which only two surviving representations are considered male. Most of these statuettes are formed in the image of the gendered, female body. Typically partially clothed, they exhibit bare breasts and, in two cases, an exposed vulva. Clothing and ornamentation appears in the manner of known female individuals from the oak coffin burials, while the 'male' figurines from Grevensvænge seem to wear replicas of the Viksø helmets, some configuration of a loin cloth (Broholm 1947; Glob 1974) and a plain neck ring each. Though generally assumed to be a female ornament, the neck rings have not affected interpretation of these figurines, rather they have simply gone unmentioned. Furthermore, there are no visibly defining features which even remotely suggest these figurines could legitimately be referred to as male. Instead, as with the indeterminate figures in the rock art these supposed 'male' figurines appear entirely lacking in anatomical features. Though in his analysis of the figurines Broholm (1947) makes clear mention of incised genetalia visible on the females from Viksø and Island

Farø, nothing is said regarding anatomy of the nude figurine from Viborg, which is allegedly male. Instead the Viborg figurine is described as severely battered and poorly made, lacking in physical detail (Broholm 1947). As with the helmeted figurines from Grevensvænge, there is no obvious sign which would indicate male sex exists beyond a lack of female breasts.

It has recently been argued of human figures in scenic compositions and anthropomorphic figurines from prehistoric Cyprus that those lacking overtly sexual characteristics should not be subject to binary interpretations. Rather, the distinct absence of sexual definition may have been intentionally designed to indicate a separate gender category beyond the polarisation of 'male' and 'female' (Hamilton 2000; Ribeiro 2002). Exploration of this approach could act to moderate traditional assumptions concerning gender in prehistory. Furthermore, the ambiguous nature of these images and figurines may reveal much about attitudes toward gender and its construction, as well as its role in the organisation of relationships in prehistoric society (Bolger 2003, chap. 4). When applied to the sexless figures featured throughout rock art of the Danish Bronze Age it becomes possible to transcend the standard ultramasculine mould prized by contemporary western culture, in consideration of their meaning. Similarly, the 'male' figurines interpreted as such for their lack of breasts and 'masculine' accessories might well have been deliberately fashioned to represent an ambiguous gender identity. Consequently, by grounding analyses in a binary framework, archaeology has undermined its own purpose. In other words, by assuming from the start that these were males, or even 'passive males', we overlook the possibility that they could represent a different category of person altogether.

Whilst the Danish anthropomorphic figurines depict the gendered body, the bronze jewellery deposited in hoards was instrumental in the process of gender and identity construction through its association with the body. Though characteristically 'male' objects frequently appeared in hoards of the earlier Bronze Age, in the later period,

votive offerings were dominated by prescribed combinations of generally 'female' ornamental items, at times, with the inclusion of a figurine (Jensen 1993). However, the potential of these observations to expand archaeological knowledge is limited in that they were formed on the basis of assumptions regarding which artefacts would be appropriate to each sex in a binary gender system. Due to the lack of skeletal material, and, moreover, remains that have been anthropologically sexed, the basis upon which these artefacts were ascribed to males or females is un-testable and therefore dubious. Though some conclusions may be drawn from artefact associations between objects in the votive deposits and the few burials that have been osteologically sexed, not every artefact type has been observed in such a secure context; therefore, much of the masculine and feminine connotations attributed to these objects are taken for granted.

As pointed out by Levy (2006), when considered from a heterarchical perspective, there is potential within the hoard material to learn more about who participated in the ritual act of deposition beyond the standard assumptions regarding man, woman and society. Analyses reveal in 'female' ornament deposits a formulaic character, through which they conform to a strict pattern, controlled in terms of artefact type combination and internal arrangement. Never haphazardly organised, the exceptional cases mentioned by Levy (2006) do not fit this pattern; rather they stand out in their unusual composition. Votive deposits composed of a typical 'female' object and non gender specific items signify something beyond the norm. Thus, there is a possibility that hoards of the later Danish Bronze Age were not simply pieced together by women or offered on behalf of families. Rather, the prospect that they may have been a medium through which individuals who did not conform with the heteronormative ideology central to traditional archaeological interpretations operated, perhaps subversively, may be read from the evidence (Levy 2006) which, in this vein, should be investigated further.

In this chapter I have presented evidence contesting the unproblematised acceptance of traditional perspectives which seek to make normative the variable past. As I have

demonstrated, the limited perspective of a binary model is inappropriate to society as reflected in the material record of Bronze Age Denmark. Together, these examples suggest that gender identities as constructed and lived in the Nordic Bronze Age were not simply rigid or passive, but demonstrate a greater degree of variability than previously acknowledged. Furthermore, the strict application of binary principles to prehistoric society has oversimplified what appear to be social processes of a far greater complexity than this approach can possibly account for. While, by no means free from uncertainty, the situation is less straightforward than has been explained using traditional male-female oppositions. Through the statistical analyses conducted in Chapter 5, the degree of distortion present in mortuary records of the Danish Bronze Age, resulting from a prolonged dependence upon tired academic conventions, and the extent to which these preconceptions define prehistory, will be exposed in greater detail.

Chapter 5

Critical Analysis of the Binary Approach

Having observed the limitations and bias of the binary approach typically applied in the assignment of sex to mortuary remains of the Danish Bronze Age, burial information collected from volumes 1-3, 6 and 7 of the corpus *Die Funde der älteren Bronzezeit des nordischen Kreises in Dänemark, Schleswig-Holstein und Niedersachsen* by Ekkehard Aner and Karl Kersten (1973; 1976; 1977; 1981; 1984) was utilised to test this assumption. Composed of nineteen volumes to date, these publications contain site information gathered from county records, region by region, over the whole of Denmark. Through the application of database concepts and statistical analyses to mortuary remains, this research utilises a quantitative approach for the purpose of illustrating those dimensions most weighted by tendentious documentation. From this perspective, burials of the Danish Bronze Age will be examined and the patterns that consequently arise through the influence of presupposition will be presented. Throughout this process inconsistencies within the data resulting from the application of poor methodology will be exposed. It will be shown that unproven assertions have distorted the evidence and, thus, ultimately shaped our impressions of the past. For clarification, in the analyses that follow, the term Traditional Binary Approach or TBA will be used to indicate that the data is derived from burials which have been sexed according to assumptions regarding artefact typology and gender, rather than through osteological examination.

5.1 Background and Statistics

While male and female graves are, for the most part, parallel in their inclusion of artefact function categories (i.e. grooming, weapons, tools and adornment), the contents of the graves appear to vary from male to female burials in terms of quantity, type and variety. Female burials generally contain fewer items than do male, few of the objects overlap between men and women in their occurrence, and female graves include a lesser variety of artefact types than those of the males. Similarly, as has been demonstrated throughout the literature, in the earliest phase of the Early Bronze Age female graves are virtually unrepresented and contain few bronze artefacts. This changes during Period II, and although females are never equally represented they are present and in possession of bronze at a time when, due to the increasing level of importation, it seems more widely available in Denmark (Gibbs 1987; Harding 2000; Jensen 1982; Kristiansen 1987; Randsborg 1973; Randsborg & Christensen 2006; Vandkilde 1999; Victor 1999). Furthermore, from the proportion of individuals represented in the round mounds it is apparent that only a small fraction of the population was considered eligible for burial and commemoration in this way. This is especially true of the Early Bronze Age, resulting in an incomplete picture regarding the daily existence of those individuals who peopled the communities of Bronze Age Denmark. The men and women in these graves have long been thought to represent the elite of Danish Bronze Age society. However, within this segment of the population there is also social variation indicated by disparity in the quantity, type and material of the mortuary goods from grave to grave.

The dataset is composed of roughly 2,267 artefacts from 676 burials at 507 sites, recorded through use of a database (see Appendix B). Together they form a sample of the cultural region, including southern Jylland and the Danish islands Sjælland, Lolland, Fyn and Bornholm, an area which slices geographically through lower Denmark nearest northern Germany and across to southern Sweden (See Figure 5.1, Appendix A), from Periods I-V. Although both inhumation and cremation burials

from Early to Late Bronze Age have been considered in this study, equal representation between periods and mortuary strategies does not exist. Cremation became the more common form of burial in the later Bronze Age (see section 2.3 of Chapter 2); however, there are far more inhumation graves in the database due to their representativity in the publications. Statistical analyses were completed using SPSS, a statistical software package use of statistical texts for archaeologists (Shennan 1997; Baxter 2003; Fletcher & Lock 2005) and consultation with Frances Provan, a statistician and convenor of the Statistical Computing Group at Edinburgh University. Two categories are represented in the data as specified by Aner and Kersten: Male and Female. The third designation, Unknown, refers to those burials not having been assigned a specific sex by the authors or whose sex the authors could not clearly assign in accordance with the artefacts. Of these graves 255 they classified as Males, 89 as Females and 332 as Unknown. Within the burials 61 artefact types (numbered 1- 69) are present in 18 different materials constituting 1,699 artefact records are identified (see Tables 5.1 - 5.4 in Appendix A for descriptive statistics pertaining to the frequency and distribution of further variables in the dataset). Although the following analyses are mainly focussed upon the relationship between sex and artefact type within the context of the mortuary record, it may also be the case that a category of burial existed in which no additional objects were placed. However, though worthy of consideration, exploration of such a possibility is beyond the scope of the current research, and should be explored in future analyses building on the findings presented here. Finally, throughout the compilation of the dataset two criteria have primarily determined whether a burial may be utilised: the presence of mortuary objects and evidence of human remains.

In addition an analysis of a smaller dataset containing osteologically examined burials and their associated artefacts gathered from Sjælland and Jylland will be presented. Jylland, an area of Denmark not featured in the previous dataset, is noted for the higher incidence of well preserved burials that have been discovered in the round barrows scattered throughout the region (Glob 1974; Randsborg 2006; Randsborg & Christensen 2006). Comprised of 77 artefact records containing 21 burials from 20 sites with a range of 32 artefact types manufactured from 11

materials, 42 of the records are classified as Male and 35 as Female (See Tables 5.5 - 5.8 in Appendix A for descriptive statistics pertaining to the frequency and distribution of further variables in the dataset). In comparison to the primary dataset, which has been utilised for the bulk of these analyses, this secondary dataset is of a more reduced size. This was an unavoidable situation, considering that those remains preserved to a standard which would permit a scientific estimation of sex are relatively few (Bennike 1985; Brost & Balslev Jørgensen 1956; Randsborg & Christensen 2006). Moreover, those which have been osteologically examined are fewer still. The bulk of the skeletal data utilised in my sample of sexed burials was compiled and kindly provided here courtesy of Dr. Niels Lynnerup, the head of the laboratory of biological anthropology in the department of forensic medicine at the University of Copenhagen. Though there were a larger quantity of burials in his original data, for the purposes of this analysis only those remains sexed as Male or Female were utilised. As the aim of including a dataset of sexed burials was to enable comparative testing, those classified as "possible male" and "possible female" were removed to avoid uncertainties which could potentially skew the results garnered from statistical analyses.

Finally, in conjunction with limiting data to remains wherein sex has been positively identified, as was the criteria in the compilation of the primary dataset, the secondary sample was further restricted by the exclusion of those burials in which artefacts were not present. Consequently, it was necessary to broaden the geographic area beyond the regional slice from which the original data was collected, though the sample does not stray beyond Denmark. I opted to decline this course of action in the interest of avoiding regional factors which may have been a concern were burials outwith Denmark added to the dataset, though exploration of the southern Swedish dataset could be could be a valuable investigation for the future. Furthermore, though the dataset contains only 21 burials, it is composed of 77 records, an adequate sample size for the statistical analyses executed. These I conducted with the assistance of Dr. Jing Sun, Senior Lecturer in the School of Public Health and her colleague Dr. Shu Kay (Angus) Ng, Senior Lecturer in Biostatistics at the School of Medicine at Griffith University in Brisbane, Australia.

5.1.1 Frequency Analysis

Each artefact type within each burial has a count according to its numerical presence as stated in the original site catalogue. However, there are inaccuracies in the Aner and Kersten corpus. In particular, some items are quantified as multiple occurrences, but an exact number is not given. Out of the 1,699 artefact records accounted for, in 28 cases quantity is unknown.

ItemCount

		Frequency	Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	1	1504	88.5	88.5
	2	138	8.1	96.6
	3	24	1.4	98.1
	4	13	.8	98.8
	5	3	.2	99.0
	6	4	.2	99.2
	8	3	.2	99.4
	9	1	.1	99.5
	10	1	.1	99.5
	11	1	.1	99.6
	12	1	.1	99.6
	20	1	.1	99.7
	22	1	.1	99.8
	26	1	.1	99.8
	27	1	.1	99.9
	37	1	.1	99.9
	125	1	.1	100.0
	Total	1699	100.0	

Table 5.9: Item Count from frequency analysis, excluding the 28 cases where quantity is unknown, showing the frequency and percentage of artefact counts in the database.

To mitigate this error, a frequency analysis was used to demonstrate frequency values. In 88.5% of cases in the database each type of item present occurs only once. In 8.1% of cases, the item may occur twice, whilst a count of three or more seldom occurs. Every artefact must have a count, however, based on the frequency percentages in Table 5.9, so it is unlikely that assigning a count of two or more could be justified. Therefore, I have assigned each of the 28 cases a count of 1. From a conservative perspective each case has, at the very least, a count of 1; to assign quantities beyond this could inaccurately represent the data.

5.1.2 Testing Association

5.1.3 Chi-square test

Objective: Through the analyses in this chapter I am challenging the traditional binary approach used in the assignment of sex to burials in order to highlight its effect on the mortuary record of Bronze Age Denmark. In this sense, the two dimensions with which this question is most concerned are Sex (the independent variable) and Artefact Type (the dependent variable). Archaeologically, it has been long been assumed that an obvious correlation exists between sex and objects within burials of the Danish Bronze Age, thereby enabling the sex of the deceased to be read directly from observation of the artefact types enclosed within a grave. A Chi-square test will examine the burials in my dataset according to their sex and corresponding artefact types in order to determine if these dimensions of the mortuary record are associated. Ultimately, the objective of this analysis, as a point of entry into deeper examination of the mortuary record, is to establish whether there is a relationship between the distribution of artefact types in burials and the methods used in assigning sex to human remains.

Analysis: A chi-square test measures the relationship between two variables for independence. In order to assess the manner in which artefacts and gender are associated an examination of sex and artefact type within a funerary context is necessary. A chi-square test will be used to help determine if there is a significant relationship between the sex and artefact type distribution within the burials. The chi-square statistic is calculated as follows:

$$X^2 = \sum \frac{(O - E)^2}{E} \tag{5.1}$$

Where O is the observed frequency and E is the expected frequency stated in the null hypothesis (Fletcher & Lock 2005), X^2 (chi-square) equals the squared sum of the difference between the observed values and expected values, divided by the expected frequency distribution. A high chi-square value indicates there is a substantial difference between the observed and expected values, or, put another way,

significant evidence of association between variables (Fletcher & Lock 2005). This is verified by the level of significance (also known as P-value or v) which indicates the likelihood that the relationship is attributable to chance. If the significance value is low, the lower the better, the two variables are considered related. Furthermore, every chi square test must begin with a statement of purpose, outlined in the null (or H_0) and alternate (or H_1) hypotheses. These account for all potential outcomes of the analysis. Acceptance of the null hypothesis indicates there is no disparity between the populations (which are here males, females and unknowns) and thus no relationship. However, should the alternative hypothesis be proven true, difference, and therefore some level of association, is present (Zar 1998). A significance level lower than or equal to .05 is customarily accepted as validation for rejecting the null hypothesis (Shennan 1997). If these conditions are not met, the null hypothesis is accepted and the variables are determined to be independent. In other words, unless it is proven unlikely that results generated by the data could be obtained more than five times in one-hundred (or fewer) attempts, the null hypothesis must be accepted (Shennan 1997).

In calculating a chi-square statistic, variable categories and their corresponding sums are arranged in a contingency table composed of rows and columns, each made up of cells. Marginal totals, tallied at the end of each column and row, must add up to a summation of frequencies from all other cells in the table (Shennan 1997). Thus, the value of the final cells in a table (excluding the margins) is determined by the frequency values of all preceding cells. While the values of the final cells are dependant upon the others, each preceding cell is treated as an independent variable, contributing one degree of freedom ($d.f.$) (Zar 1998). For this analysis the Crosstabs procedure, which provides a method for examination of the relationship between two categorical variables (Shennan 1997), in this case, artefact type and sex, is used. Therefore, the chi-square results in Tables 5.10 and 5.11 were calculated using cross-classified data. The calculation for obtaining the number of degrees of freedom for cross-classified data is as follows:

$$d.f. = (r-1)(c-1) \tag{5.2}$$

Where r is the number of rows and c is the number of columns in a table (Fletcher & Lock 2005). Here I am using cross-classified data to measure whether the variables 'Artefact Type' and 'Sex' are independent of each other or significantly related. With a significance level of .05, the Null Hypothesis states that there is no difference between the distribution of artefact types in male, female and unknown burials.

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	963[a]	118	.000
Likelihood Ratio	945	118	.000
Linear-by-Linear Association	5	1	.024
N of Valid Cases	1699		

a. 104 cells (57.8%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is .18.

Table 5.10: Results of chi-square test using cross-classified data for variables 'Sex' and 'Arttype'

The results of the chi-square test are depicted in Table 5.10 for the 1699 cases or artefact records. However, standard procedure dictates that a valid statistic can only be obtained if all cells have an expected count of at least 5. In larger tables (those greater than 2x2), this criteria may be moderated so that no more than 20% of all cells in the table have a frequency of less than 5 (Fletcher & Lock 2005). In Table 5.2 104 or 57.8% of cells have an expected count of less than 5, attributable to those artefact types which occur infrequently in the dataset. Furthermore, to achieve a valid statistic, the minimum expected count must not dip below 1, as a lower number will cause the Chi-square value to be inflated. With a minimum expected count of only .18, this statistic is unreliable. A large number of categories in the data may also inflate value calculated by the chi-square statistic (Zar 1998). Therefore, a case can be made for the removal of all items with lower counts (Fletcher & Lock 2005) from the artefact type variable.

The chi-square test results in Table 5.11 were derived after all artefact types which occurred in fewer than 10 cases were removed from the dataset (see Table 5.1, Appendix A for the frequency of artefact types which appear in TBA Male, TBA

Female and Unknown burials prior to the removal of those artefact types that occur in fewer than 10 cases). Because it would not be meaningful archaeologically to merge any of the artefact type categories, adjusting the imbalance via removal of the lower count items proved a more sound solution (Fletcher & Lock 2005). Although the total cells with an expected count of less than 5 is still just over 20%, the minimum expected count has risen to 1.77, making the chi-square statistic in Table 5.11 a viable result. At $X^2 = 851$ on 66 d.f., $p < 0.000$, the chi-square value has been reduced by 112 from the previous results.

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	851[a]	66	.000
Likelihood Ratio	818	66	.000
Linear-by-Linear Association	7	1	.008
N of Valid Cases	1582		

a. 27 cells (26.5%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 1.77.

Table 5.11: Results of chi-square test using cross-classified data for variables 'Sex' and 'Artefact type' after artefact types with a count of less than 10 were removed from dataset.

However, following the adjustment, the chi-square value is still significantly high, suggesting evidence of a relationship. This is supported by the significance value, which, between the two tests, has remained low and indicates that the observed distribution does not conform to the expected distribution. In other words, there is a difference between the distribution of artefact types in male, female and unknown burials, therefore H_0 is rejected. However, while chi-square analysis can determine the existence of an association between variables, assessing the relationship's strength is beyond its capability. Without knowing the extent to which the variables Sex and Artefact Type, are related the meaning of the relationship is unclear. For further clarification, an examination of the Goodman and Kruskal tau and Uncertainty Coefficients in the Directional Measures generated by a Crosstabulation routine is necessary.

Outcome: With regard to the documentation of burials from Bronze Age Denmark, the Chi-square test results demonstrate a definitive correlation between the artefact types present in a grave and the sex of a burial. In other words, the test has highlighted a discrepancy between the distribution of artefact types in Male, Female and Unknown burials, indicating a disparity in types of artefact that occur with each category of sex. In order to understand the nature of this relationship, as well as its significance and source in the site records, a Crosstabulation procedure is performed.

5.1.4 Crosstabulation Routine

Objective: The Chi-square test confirmed the existence of a relationship between the dimensions Sex and Artefact Type, however, the first step in revealing the underlying cause of this association is to examine its direction. For example, in accordance with the traditional binary system, is the sex of a burial indicated by the presence of particular artefact types, or does the sex of a burial indicate which artefact types should be present? Furthermore, evaluation of the relationship's strength will aid in ascertaining the legitimacy of assumptions fundamental to the classification of burials using traditional binary oppositions. For instance, is the disparity in distribution of artefact types between Male, Female and Unknown burials inflexible? A Crosstabulation routine in SPSS will identify both the strength of this relationship and its direction.

Analysis: The Directional Measures calculated with a Crosstabulation routine indicate the strength and direction of the relationship between the dependant ('Sex') and independent ('Artefact Type') variables where 'Artefact Type' is used to predict 'Sex'. In Table 5.12 low approximate significance values for the Goodman and Kruskal tau indicate an association between variables. However, the strength of the relationship, while significant, is not strong enough to infer a rigid division of artefacts distributed according to sex. Here the low 'Artefact Type Number Dependant' values (.022 and .082) mean that the error rate has only been reduced to percentages of 2.2 and 8.2 over what would be expected by random chance. In other words, determining which artefact types should be present in a grave according to a

burial's sex would prove an exercise in futility. Even so, the stronger correlation measures of .233 and .251 in the test statistics indicate that the possibility of predicting the sex of an individual based upon a grave's associated artefacts is stronger.

Directional Measures

			Value	Asymp. Std. Error[a]	Approx. T[b]	Approx. Sig.
Nominal by Nominal	Lambda	Symmetric	.140	.013	10.284	.000
		Artefact Type Number Dependent	.047	.008	5.650	.000
		Sex Number Dependent	.289	.025	10.014	.000
	Goodman and Kruskal tau	Artefact Type Number Dependent	.022	.002		.000[c]
		Sex Number Dependent	.233	.013		.000[c]
	Uncertainty Coefficient	Symmetric	.124	.007	17.675	.000[d]
		Artefact Type Number Dependent	.082	.005	17.675	.000[d]
		Sex Number Dependent	.251	.013	17.675	.000[d]

a. Not assuming the null hypothesis.

b. Using the asymptotic standard error assuming the null hypothesis.

c. Based on chi-square approximation

d. Likelihood ratio chi-square probability.

Table 5.12: Directional Measures from Crosstabulation routine or variables 'Sex' and 'Artefact Type' after artefact types with a count of less than 10 were removed from dataset.

However, due to the nature of the variables, further analyses are required in order to obtain a more accurate picture of the relationship. This can prove problematic for Crosstabulation as the variables, 'Sex No' and 'Artefact No' are nominal, possessing no inherent ranking, and contain greater than two categories. In such cases Correspondence analysis, which presents the information graphically, depicting categories as data points, allows associations to be more easily examined.

Outcome: Archaeologically, the results of the Crosstabulation routine indicate that, within the mortuary record, the degree of artefact segregation from type to type among the TBA Male, TBA Female and Unknown burials is high enough to enable the estimation of an unclassified burial's sex purely based on the artefacts in a grave. However, this analysis also demonstrates that the relationship between artefact distribution and sex, evident in the site documentation, is the product of a system that

determines whether a burial is Male, Female or Unknown solely upon the specific artefact types with which is was interred. From this perspective, certain artefact types were restricted to males, while others could only have occurred with females. A Correspondence analysis illustrates this division.

5.1.5 Correspondence Analysis

Objective: To this point it has been established that, within the documentation of mortuary data for the Danish Bronze Age, an association exists between the types of artefacts found in a grave and the sex of a burial. Furthermore, it has been shown that, through the traditional binary approach, the sex of a burial is likely to have been determined by the associated artefact types, but also that, while there is a difference in the distribution of artefacts between TBA Male, TBA Female and Unknown burials, it is not enough to predict the sex of a burial on the basis of artefact content. A Correspondence Analysis is ideal for closer examination of the relationship between Sex and Artefact Type due to its ability to pictorially display the frequency with which each category of artefact occurs in TBA Male, TBA Female, and Unknown burials.

Analysis: Categorical relations are indicated by proximity between points within each variable; those categories that are most similar occur more closely together, whilst those having the least in common appear to be plotted further apart (Greenacre 1984). For this analysis a two-dimensional symmetrical normalization was used in which the inertia of the rows (Artefact Type Number) and columns (Sex Number) was distributed evenly, thereby displaying any similitude or disparity present between the row and column variables of the Correspondence table. Examination of Figure 5.2 reveals a few characteristics of the Artefact Type (each represented by a numeric value, see Table 5.13, Appendix A) distribution in relation to Sex (See also Table 5.1). At first glance it is apparent the data plot roughly forms a parabola. At the right, inertia concentration on Dimension 1, is Sex Number 2 (Female). At the left leg, with inertia concentrated upon Dimension 2, is Sex Number 1 (Male). Sex Number 3 (Unknown) lies approximately in the middle (but closer to Sex Number 1),

it's inertia more concentrated toward Dimension 2. The Artefact Types clustering around each form a sort of divide. Ornamental items: neck collars (29), belt plates (34), tubes (37), hair rings (35), ankle rings (53), neck rings (28), arm spirals (30), arm bands (32) and belt boxes (33), form a cluster around Females composing the right leg. Therefore, according to cluster composition of the scattergram, within data analysed from the mortuary record, females are principally represented by decorative objects.

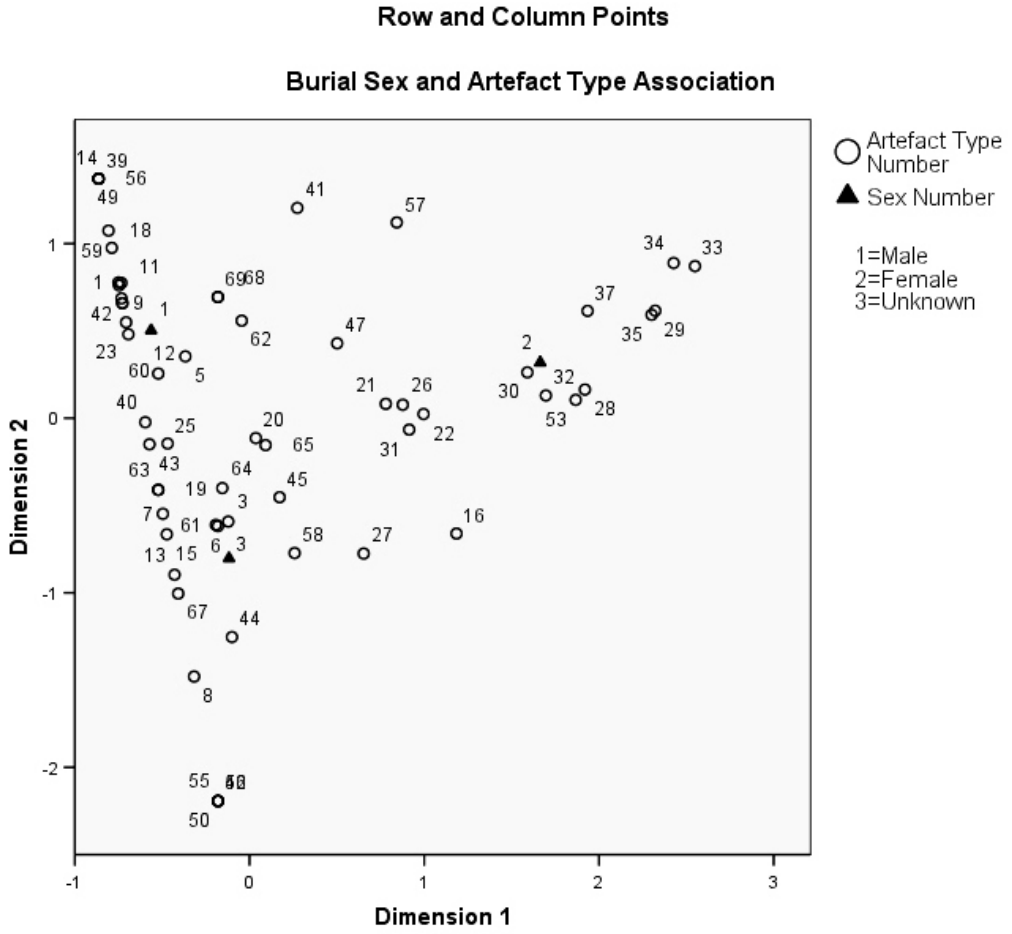

Figure 5.2: Scattergram depicting associations between Burial Sex and Artefact Type from Correspondence Analysis of mortuary data.

On the left, cluster composition is less clear, but TBA Male items are composed mainly of weapons: swords (1) axes (11); tools: fish hooks (12), boxes (68), bowls (69), chisels (14), flint lithic tools (9), toilet cases (42); and grooming implements: razors (40) and tweezers (43). Other Artefact Types clustered around TBA Males include belt hooks (18), natural unshaped materials (60), inlay (23), chapes (5), wire

(62) and animal parts (59), with the inlay and chapes appearing as decorative features on weaponry. This indicates that, in the main, according to data analysed from the mortuary record, males are principally represented by weapons, tools and grooming implements.

Artefact Type Numbers which form a cluster nearest those burials whose sex remains Unknown are: nails (19), needles (13), awls (44), metal fragments (61), rings (63), daggers (3), knives (6), pins (45), vessels (58), flint pieces (65) and finger rings (27). However, while the majority of these Artefact Types occur predominantly in Unknown burials those plotted in the area between TBA Males and Unknowns are also commonly found with TBA Males. These include nails (19) and lance points (7), neither of which can be determined as clearly TBA Male or clearly Unknown. Artefact Types: razors (40), tweezers (43), double buttons (25), and fibulae (20), represent objects which occur in both TBA Male and Unknown burials but are most likely to be found with TBA Males. Daggers (3), most numerous in Unknown burials, are found with both TBA Males and TBA Females, but more frequently occur in TBA Male burials as indicated by their closer proximity to TBA Males than TBA Females. Fibulae, though proportionally lower, also appear with TBA Females. In this sense, according to Aner and Kersten's assignment of sex to burials, whilst Unknown (unsexed) burials may occur with these items, statistically, as it is more plausible to determine sex based upon artefact types than to predict artefact types according to sex (demonstrated in Table 5.12), it is probable they would be categorised as Males.

Similarly, the Artefact Type Numbers plotted centrally between the three genders, but appearing more associated to TBA Females: spirals (47), tutuli (21), finger spirals (26), arm rings (31) and beads (22), represent objects which occur in TBA Male and Unknown burials but are more likely to be found with TBA Females. The Artefact Type Numbers plotted between TBA Males and TBA Females, combs (41) and pendants (57) are fairly equally likely to be found with either. Sickles (16), which occur equally with TBA Females and Unknowns, and finger rings (27), located in the area between Unknowns and TBA Females are found with both. From

this pattern it is evident that some level of gender association exists among the artefact types as indicated by their distinct polarity—weapons, tools and grooming implements to the left and ornamental objects on the right—along the axis of Dimension 1. However, archaeologically, the result of this analysis is of little value as a true representation of gender in the Danish Bronze Age; the scatter plot presented in Figure 5.2 is of greater value as an illustrative tool, depicting the affect of a binary approach on the mortuary data.

TBA Males	TBA Females	Unknowns
*Swords	*Neck collars	*Needles
*Axes	*Belt Plates	*Awls
*Fish hooks	*Tubes	*Metal Fragments
*Boxes	*Hair rings	*Rings
*Bowls	*Ankle Rings	*Daggers
*Chisels	*Arm spirals	*Knives
*Flint lithic tools	*Arm bands	*Pins
*Belt hooks	*Belt boxes	*Vessels
*Toilet cases	*Fibulae	*Flint pieces
*Natural unshaped materials	*Spirals	*Finger rings
*Inlay	*Tutuli	*Nails
*Chapes	*Finger spirals	Lance points
*Wire	*Arm rings	Razors
*Animal parts	*Beads	Tweezers
*Razors	Sickles	Double buttons
*Tweezers	Finger rings	Fibulae
*Double buttons	Combs	Spirals
*Fibulae	Pendants	Tutuli
Combs		Finger spirals
Nails		Arm rings
Daggers		Beads
Lance Points		
Spirals		
Tutuli		
Finger spirals		
Arm rings		
Beads		
Pendants		

Table 5.14: Review of which artefact types occur with each sex according to the row and column points in Figure 5.2 of the correspondence analysis. The *indicates items designated as more specific to that category by the analysis.

Outcome: Overall, the shape of the scatterplot in Figure 5.2 indicates a clear division between the artefact types which occur in TBA Male and TBA Female burials (for clarification, results from the Correspondence analysis are reviewed in Table 5.14). Accordingly, TBA Male burials are represented by weapons tools and grooming implements, whilst jewellery most frequently appears in TBA Female burials. In other words, artefact type distribution in the burials appears to reveal a society organised according to strict binary codes. Thus, this analysis plainly demonstrates the use of traditional biases and the influence of these assumptions on the burial record of Bronze Age Denmark. Furthermore, this analysis demonstrates the mechanism which functions at the heart of the binary system, that is, its dependence on the oppositional structures male/weaponry, tools and grooming, female/jewellery. However, in the Unknown area between the TBA Male and TBA Female distributions are a number of unsexed burials isolated by the binary system, as well as objects which may occur with all three categories of sex. A Discriminate Analysis will begin to check the legitimacy of traditional binary methods applied in the documentation of the mortuary data. Thus, the analysis will test each burial according to parameters set by the system itself, revealing any inconsistencies that may exist in the assignment of sex to burials.

5.1.6 Discriminate Analysis

Objective: In terms of the mortuary record, my aim in employing Discriminate Analysis is to test the system according to which the burials were sexed and, thus, the model of binary organisation portrayed by their arrangement. Given the division of artefact types between sexes, is that distribution reproduced without fail or are there exceptions which provide evidence of inconsistencies in the binary framework? Identification of inconsistencies is an important tool for revealing contradictions, and therefore, weaknesses in the seemingly impenetrable armour of traditional binary narratives. According to the regulations designed by the binary system, burials are categorised as Male, Female or Unknown based on assumptions surrounding the allocation of artefact types to each sex. In this case, on the basis of the same criteria,

a Discriminate Analysis will attempt to distinguish between these groups, thereby determining whether each burial has been correctly classified.

Analysis: As a form of predictive modelling, a discriminate equation functions through pattern recognition, sorting cases into groups and thus predicting membership (Shennan 1997). This model is then contrasted with existing patterns in the dataset as a means of testing their degree of classification in line with what has been predicted. When successful, a high percentage of correct estimates will be produced (Baxter 2003). Discriminate analysis is thus a useful tool for testing the validity of assigning sex to burials based upon artefact types. Utilising 'Sex' as the grouping or dependant variable, the independent variable 'Artefact Type' is the predictor, sorting burials into their expected distributions as 'Male', 'Female' or 'Unknown'. This means that some of the burials originally categorised as 'Unknown' may be reclassified as 'Male' or 'Female' within the context of the predictive model, providing their original membership is determined to be incorrect. This is also true of burials within the 'Female' and 'Male' groupings.

Based upon criteria for ascertaining sex established by the original (binary) system, a model of best fit is generated against which to test the accuracy of case distribution. Those burials whose independent variables do not meet conditions set by the predictive model are reallocated into groupings more appropriate to their composition. Here, Discriminate Analysis is used to determine which artefact types discriminate between the groups 'Male', 'Female' and 'Unknown', or rather, whether the categories 'Male', 'Female' and 'Unknown' differ with regard to artefact types by inquiring as to which artefact types are the best predictors of a burial's sex. If new, unsexed, burials were introduced into the dataset, the model generated by Discriminate Analysis could be used to predict their membership (i.e. sex), thereby classifying them into one of the three groups. Thus, whilst the addition of new cases is the best method for testing accuracy of a predictive model, in the classification of pre-existing cases (such as we have here), it primarily serves to distinguish outliers or inconsistencies within the system.

Indicated in the Classification Results (Table 5.15) of the analysis are the quantity of cases from the burial data which have been correctly and incorrectly classified according to the variables 'Sex' and 'Artefact Type'. These show that 66 or 74.2% of TBA Female burials were classified as such correctly, while 23 were classified incorrectly as Unknowns; 199 or 78% of TBA Male burials were correctly classified, but 56 were misclassified, 1 as TBA female and 55 as Unknown; finally, 281 or 84.6% Unknown burials were classified correctly and 51 were classified incorrectly, 13 as TBA Female and 38 as TBA Male.

Classification Results[bc]

Sex	Predicted Female N(%)	Predicted Male N(%)	Predicted Unknown N(%)	Total
Original:				
Female	66 (74)	0 (0)	23 (26)	89
Male	1 (.004)	199 (78)	55 (22)	255
Unknown	13 (4)	38 (11)	281 (85)	332
Cross-Validated[a]**:**				
Female	60 (67)	0 (0)	29 (33)	89
Male	2 (.008)	194 (76)	59 (23)	255
Unknown	13 (4)	39 (12)	280 (84)	332

a. In cross validation, each case is classified by the functions derived from all cases other than that case
b. 80.8% of original gouped cases correctly classified.
c. 79% of cross-validated grouped cases were correctly classified.

Table 5.15: Classification Results from Discriminate Analysis of the variables 'Sex' and 'Arttype' in which the current sex categories assigned to burials in the dataset are tested for accuracy.

Overall, 80.8% of the burials are correctly classified. However, original results for predicted group membership may be overly optimistic and thus need to be cross-validated. Cross-validation ensures that each case is correctly classified by using a random sample from the dataset as a control against which to test the remaining cases (Baxter 2003). Accordingly it was found that 79% of the cross-validated cases were classified correctly. Purely based upon Artefact Type, of those classified incorrectly, 29 TBA Females should be classified as Unknowns, 2 TBA Males should be classified as TBA Female and 59 as Unknown, whilst 13 Unknowns should be classified as TBA Female and 39 as TBA Male.

Outcome: The fact that a larger percentage of the burials seem to be 'correctly' classified does not validate binary sexing based on artefacts; rather, the burials appear correctly classified because of the pre-determined nature of the TBA system. The groups, 'Male' and 'Female', seem to naturally occur within the data. In actuality, they give this impression because they were imposed as a structuring device for the organisation of burials into an acceptable, binary framework. An obvious limitation of this analysis is that it cannot function outside of criteria already set for sexing the burials. Nevertheless, it is useful for identifying instances of inaccuracy within the binary system. By isolating instances in which the system is flawed it can be demonstrated that, even within the criteria set by this longstanding methodology, a number of individuals (approximately 21%) were assigned the wrong sex. Thusly, the validity of this system and its application in the sexing of every burial analysed here must come into question.

5.1.7 Classification Tree

Objective: A Classification tree in SPSS is a further tool for discerning relationships between groups since it helps to ascertain which artefact types are used in the determination of a burial's sex. Those artefacts most influential in the allocation of burials to each specified category of sex are visually represented by the Classification Tree. Here, this analysis provides a pictorial display through which the classification process applied in documentation of the mortuary record can be dissected. Ultimately, it enables closer scrutiny of the underlying rational which dictates how a burial is categorised (within the TBA system) and, thus, the organisation of gender and social structure in Danish Bronze Age society.

Analysis: As a form of discriminate analysis which operates using the chi square test, a classification tree functions by grouping data according to relationships between variables. In this way, associations within and between the resulting groups are made visible. Here, a classification tree has been employed in order to highlight any correlations present within the dataset. By focussing upon the largest areas of chi square interaction, the tree distinguishes between the burials based upon artefact type

and attempts to maximise the difference between burial sex classifications. During this process, growth of the tree is determined by levels of interaction between the dependent ('Sex') and independent ('Artefact Type') variables. At each stage in development, the Artefact Type boasting the strongest interaction with burials in the dataset based on Sex is selected. This produces a set of paired branches, each with a node. One node represents a homogenous or pure group while the other remains impure and is therefore divided further until either a specified terminal node has been reached or the highest level of purity possible has been achieved (Baxter & Jackson 2001).

A closer examination of individual artefact types can further refine this outcome. To do this each variable must first be isolated by artefact type and material. By merging any duplicate site/burial number/artefact/material combinations, the dataset is reformatted. Thus the records are condensed into presence and absence data in order to examine them on a burial by burial basis at artefact level. For the following analyses this modification is advantageous. Refining the data in this way enables artefacts to be scrutinized on an individual basis in terms of type as well as material, thereby achieving more effective results. By permitting the focus of examination to narrow, details which might otherwise go overlooked can be highlighted. The tree diagram pictured in Figure 5.3 is constructed by a cascade of twin branches, each pair descending from the other according to dominant artefact groupings in the dataset, utilising presence (1) and absence (0) values. Pictured in each node is a frequency table and bar chart depicting the number of cases in each category (Male, Female and Unknown) of the dependent variable 'Sex'. Each object and its material are demarcated numerically in decimal form, with artefact type preceding the decimal and material behind it.

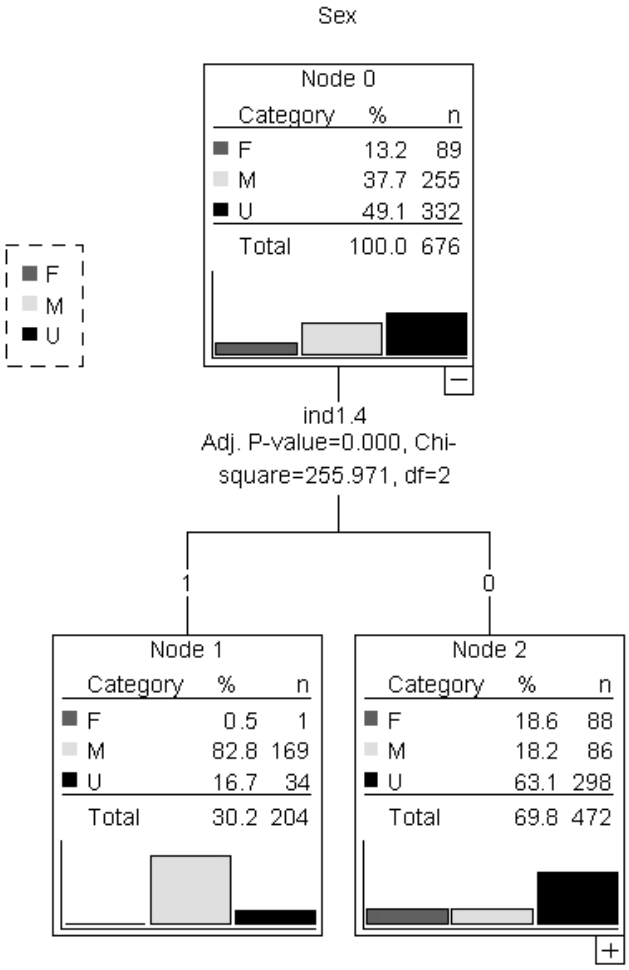

Figure 5.3: Node 1= bronze swords, Node 2= no bronze swords.

Beginning with a sum of six hundred and seventy-six burials in Node 0 (the root node), the first grouping in the records is determined by bronze swords (1.4). According to Node 1, 204 or 30.2% of the burials contain bronze swords. Whilst the greater part of this quantity (169) is associated with TBA Males, and the remaining thirty-four with Unknowns, it is interesting to note the statistic has also revealed one of the burials to be a TBA Female (see section 5.2 for further discussion). In Node 2, representing burials without swords, only 472 from the original sample remain once the population of sword bearing individuals (in Node 1) has been subtracted.

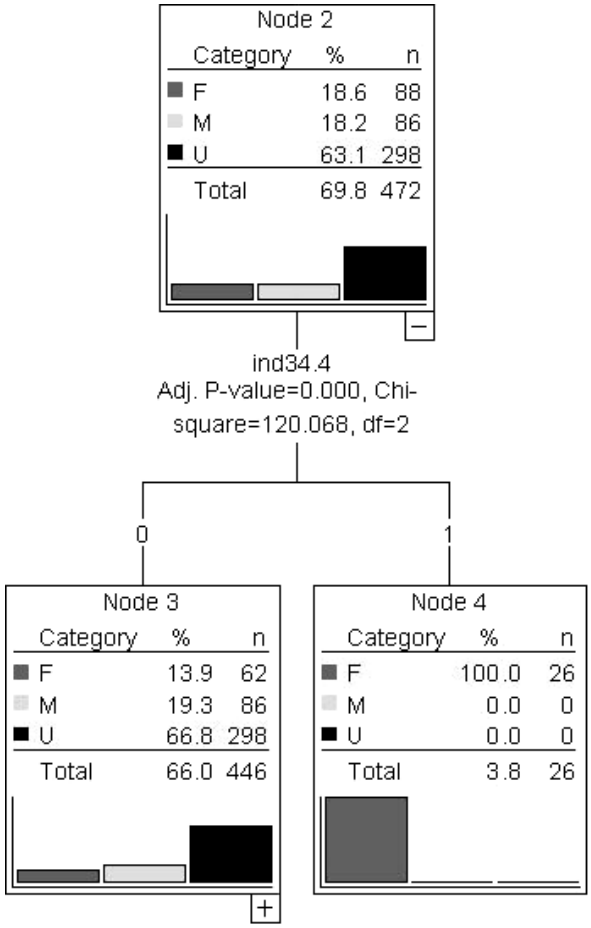

Figure 5.4: Node 3= no bronze swords and no belt plates, Node 4= no bronze swords and belt plates.

As illustrated in Figure 5.4, Node 4 denotes the second agglomeration of burials, influenced by bronze belt plates (34.4), of which 26 are present, each belonging to a TBA Female. The residual 446 without belt plates, delineated in Node 3 are split off into Nodes 5 and 6 as dictated by flint lithic tools (48.6).

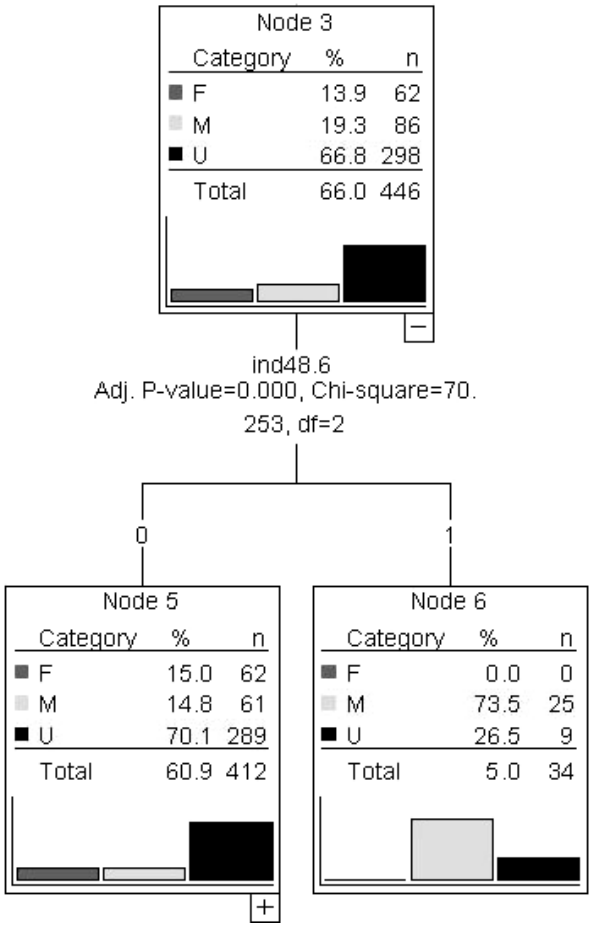

Figure 5.5: Node 5= no bronze swords, no belt plates and no flint lithic tools, Node 6= no bronze swords, no belt plates and flint lithic tools.

According to Node 6 in Figure 5.5, from the remaining unclassified burials, only 25 TBA Males and 9 Unknowns were interred with flint lithic tools, whilst from Node 5 the other 412 are further subdivided by bronze arm rings (31.4).

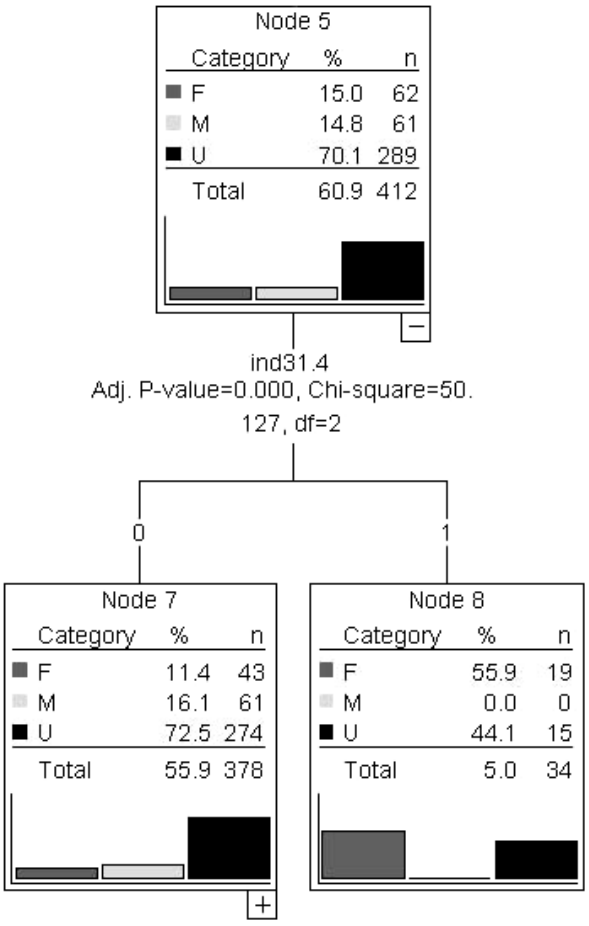

Figure 5.6: Node 7= no bronze swords, no belt plates, no flint lithic tools and no bronze arm rings, Node 8= no bronze swords, no belt plates, no flint lithic tools and bronze arm rings

Within this group, represented by Node 8 in Figure 5.6, are 19 TBA Females and fifteen Unknowns. Descending from Node 7, the 378 burials without bronze arm rings make up the final branching of the diagram imposed by bronze tutuli.

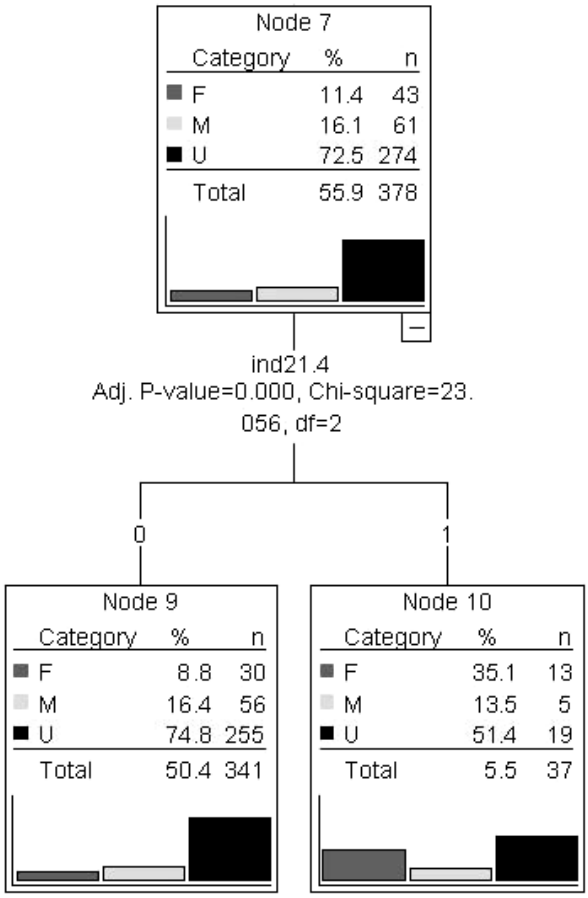

Figure 5.7: Node 9: no bronze swords, no belt plates, no flint lithic tools, no bronze arm rings and no tutuli, Node 10= no bronze swords, no belt plates, no flint lithic tools, no bronze arm rings and tutuli.

Each subsequent branch of the tree further subdivides the data. If allowed, the tree will continue to classify what remains of the data until there is none; however, groupings occurring in the uppermost nodes represent the artefact types which exert a greater force upon the sex determination of a burial. This means objects in the lower branches are less influential. If a burial has a sword it will be called a male, however should there be no sword the next indicator of maleness is the flint lithic tool. Similarly, a belt plate connotes femaleness and, in the absence of this, a bronze arm ring. Artefact types in subsequent branches begin to favour both TBA Males and TBA Females, indicated by Node 10 in Figure 5.7, which denotes the presence of tutuli in the burials of 13 TBA Females, 5 TBA Males and 19 Unknowns.

Outcome: Examination of the Classification Tree demonstrates that, in keeping with traditional archaeological practices, certain types of artefacts have been used to determine whether a burial is categorised as Male or Female. Among these, the foremost artefact type utilized in detecting the sex of a burial is the sword, and, following this, the belt plate. Therefore, these artefact types have been endowed with primary significance, since the presence of either in a grave first and foremost dictates how the sex of a burial will be recorded, i.e. swords equal Male and belt plates equal Female. As the first item to divide the burials, the sword stands out as the artefact type considered the most noteworthy, initially separating the males from the rest. In this manner, the sword and, therefore, maleness, as perceived according to the traditional binary perspective, have become the focal points of narratives concerning the Danish Bronze Age. However, there are critical flaws within the operation of this system, specifically the application of assumptions based upon contemporary gender stereotypes grounded in western society to define the sex/gender of prehistoric individuals. Some of these biases and inconsistencies will be explored further below, through the use of Crosstabulation routine.

5.1.8 Highlighting Inconsistencies in the Binary System

Objective: Within the assumed binary gender system illustrated above there are some inconsistencies. For instance, there is a degree of overlap in the type of artefacts which occur between TBA Male and TBA Female burials. A crosstabulation of artefact type and burial sex will analyse the data, exposing these relationships. Accordingly, numerous artefact types (arm ring, arm spiral, awl, bead, fibula, finger spiral, tutuli, dagger, comb and knife) are unrestricted in their associations (see Table 5.1, Appendix A). This confirms that despite the pervasive assumptions regarding the assignment of artefact type to sex and, therefore, sex to burials, TBA Male burials also contain ornamental items, just as TBA Females bear an association with weapons (daggers, knives) and tools (awls).

5.1.9 Arm Rings and Arm Spirals

Analysis: A closer examination of this distribution using the aforementioned presence and absence data (see section 5.1.4) will further enable the examination of individual artefact types and their materials in terms of discrepancies which may occur regarding gender. In the dataset there are 10 TBA Males, 24 TBA Females and 18 Unknowns with arm rings (see Table 5.1, Appendix A). However, when the variable 'Material' is also considered, an interesting pattern emerges. In Table 5.16 the information suggests that among those burials represented in the database, gold arm rings are exclusive to TBA Males. Of the 12 burials with gold arm rings in total, 10 (or 83% of the gold arm rings accounted for in the data) are TBA Males and 2 (or 17% of the gold arm rings) are Unknowns. Furthermore, only 4% of the male population (out of 245 burials) in the database have gold arm rings, a small but perhaps not insignificant fraction in terms of what these items might indicate about gender and identity. Were this small fraction of burials osteologically proven to be biologically male their association with gold arm rings could indicate that this is a particularly male phenomenon, thereby the 2 Unknowns with gold arm rings could perhaps also be biologically male. More interesting still would be the implications of this. A small portion of one sex distinguished from the rest of the population through the possession of an item not normally exclusive, but perhaps made so by its material, suggests the marking out of social differences.

However, when the gold material of the grouping variable 'Arm Rings' is exchanged with bronze (represented by the number 4), the results change. According to Table 5.16 there are 41 bronze arm rings in the database. Of these there are no TBA Male burials with a bronze arm ring, whilst the largest proportion, 24 (or 59% of bronze arm rings in the records), are TBA Females and 16 (or 39% of bronze arm rings) are burials whose gender is Unknown. Therefore, whereas TBA Male burials in the data sample have a monopoly on gold arm rings, TBA Female burials are heavily associated with arm rings of bronze. Thus, though ornamental items, such as arm rings, are generally assumed to be feminine, it is evident from the results of the analysis that this was not case. While there seems to be a discrepancy in the

significance of gold versus bronze arm rings, in general, concerning associations between sex and the artefact type itself, it appears there was no discrimination: both TBA Male and TBA Female burials in the mortuary data are associated with arm rings.

Distribution Frequency of Select Artefact Types by Sex

Type of Artefact	Male	Female	Unknown	Total	P
Gold arm ring:	10	0	2	12	0.004
% Within Sex	4	0	1	2	
% Within Artefact	83	0	17	100	
Bronze arm ring:	0	24	16	40	0.000
% Within Sex	0	27	5	6	
%Within Artefact	0	60	40	100	
Gold arm spiral:	4	2	1	7	0.155
% Within Sex	2	2	.3	1	
%Within Artefact	57	29	14	100	
Bronze arm spiral:	0	23	7	30	0.000
% Within Sex	0	26	2	4	
%Within Artefact	0	77	23	100	
Bronze dagger:	43	14	61	118	0.802
% Within Sex	17	16	18	17	
%Within Artefact	36	12	52	100	
Bronze Knife:	41	10	61	112	0.265
% Within Sex	16	11	18	17	
%Within Artefact	37	9	54	100	

Table 5.16: Frequency of TBA Males, TBA Females and Unknowns occurring with arm rings and arm spirals (in accordance with material), daggers and knives.

It has not been osteologically proven that every burial associated with a bronze arm ring is female while gold arm rings are restricted to males. However, in each grave recorded as TBA Male and containing a gold arm ring there are additional objects which tend to be favoured as primary indicators of maleness, swords in particular (see Site IDs 6, Burial No.1; 25, Burial No.1; 36, Burial No.1; 216, Burial No.1; 236, Burial No.1; 292, Burial No.1; 336, Burial No.1; 448, Burial No.1; and 528, Burial No.1 in Appendix B). There are also 2 Unknown burials with gold arm rings, one, which, according to the traditional binary system, should be TBA Male, as it also contains a sword (Site ID 34, Burial No.1, Appendix B). Conversely, the other

contains items associated with both TBA Male and TBA Female burials (Site ID 305, Burial No.1) and could thereby equally be called female.

Similarly, additional items in many of the burials containing bronze arm rings and designated TBA Female are of an ambiguous nature (see Site IDs 207, Burial No.1; 230, Burial No.1; 259, Burial No.1; 290, Burial No.1; 318, Burial No.1; 362, Burial No.1; 438, Burial No.1; 534, Burial No.2; 584, Burial No.1 in Appendix B); therefore, individuals in these graves could also have been male. Certainly, then, the assignment of every bronze arm ring to a Female (or Unknown) burial is unjustified and may, furthermore, suggest asymmetry regarding the estimated value of gold versus bronze. In other words, it is assumed that bronze is less valuable than gold; therefore, all burials containing a bronze arm ring must be female, whilst gold, being of greater value, only occurs with males. This is a prime example of bias influencing the material. Though there may be males with bronze arm rings or females with arm rings of gold, in this system of sexing they are not evident. As demonstrated in Table 5.16, this also seems to be the case with arm spirals. In the dataset there are 4 TBA Males, 25 TBA Females and 8 Unknowns with arm spirals (see Table 5.1, Appendix A).

As shown in Table 5.16, in every TBA Male burial with an arm spiral the item is of gold, nevertheless each of these is also associated with a sword, the supreme indicator of maleness (see Figure 5.3). However, there are also two TBA Female burials with gold arm spirals, accounting for 29% of gold arm spirals in the dataset. In addition to 2 gold arm spirals, the TBA Female from Frøslev, Site ID 410 also contains an amber bead, a bronze dagger with wooden sheath and bronze chape, a bronze fibula and 2 bronze tutuli, all items which occur with both TBA Male and TBA Female burials. Concerning the TBA Female from Munkevang, Site ID 242, the situation is much the same. In this case, as well as 2 gold arm spirals there is also a bronze fibula, a bronze knife and 2 further spiral arm rings, this time in bronze. Thus, while the TBA Female from Frøslev could also be male, the other TBA Female with gold arm spirals from Munkevang is uncertain, therefore, a Crosstabulation of bronze arm spirals and sex is necessary.

According to Table 5.16 there are 30 burials with bronze arm spirals in the dataset. Of these, 23 are TBA Female and 7 are Unknown. If gold arm spirals can be associated with either TBA Males or TBA Females why is every burial containing a bronze arm spiral called female or left unclassified? For example, the TBA Female from Stammershalle, Site ID 238, Burial No. 2, has a bronze arm spiral, in addition to a bronze fibula and a bronze knife, both of which are non-gender specific items. Furthermore, the burial at Sæby B (Site ID 119, Burial No. 1), also a TBA Female, contained only 2 bronze arm spirals, whilst Burial No. 6 from Store-Loftsgård (Site ID 244) held 2 bronze arm spirals, a bronze fibula and a bronze knife. Neither of these were assigned to either the Male or Female sex category. There are only a total of 7 burials with gold arm spirals in the dataset, therefore, based upon such a small sample, it is not possible to form any definitive conclusions. Though not significantly, TBA Females with gold arm spirals are outnumbered by TBA Males. However, that both TBA Males and TBA Females are associated with gold arm spirals, whilst burials with arm spirals of bronze are only categorised as TBA Females (or Unknowns), demonstrates the asymmetry caused by archaeological biases regarding material value.

Outcome: An interesting pattern emerges through Crosstabulation of these two artefact types when their materials are considered as a further dimension. From the analyses it has become clear that TBA Males also have jewellery despite widespread assumptions to the contrary. Furthermore, in terms of these ornament types there is a tendency for bronze to be assigned to females whilst gold is assigned to males. Thus, if bronze is presumed to be of lower value than gold, the tendency to assign non gender specific bronze items to females over males implies that bronze was worth less and, as such, was associated with those of lower social status, i.e. women. Similarly, the propensity to allocate artefacts manufactured in the more highly valued material to males suggests that men held the highest position of prestige in Danish Bronze Age society. This is exemplary of the asymmetrical and oversimplified narratives produced via the binary approach.

5.1.10 Daggers and Knives

Analysis: In Table 5.16, burials are grouped by the presence or absence of bronze daggers in relation to sex. 118 (or 17%) of the burials represented contain this object. Out of these, 14 are TBA Female, 43 are TBA Male and 61 are classified as Unknown. Put another way, 16% of the total TBA Female burials in the database contain 12% of the bronze daggers; 17% of the TBA Male burials contain 36% of the bronze daggers; and 18% of Unknown burials contain 52% of the bronze daggers. The majority of bronze daggers appear in unsexed burials; therefore, a burial containing a bronze dagger is equally as likely to be a TBA Male as it is to be a TBA Female. On its own, a bronze dagger cannot reliably be used to indicate sex. Similarly, as demonstrated in Table 5.16, when grouped by bronze knives in accordance with sex, 112 burials (or 17%) include this artefact: 10 TBA Females, 41 TBA Males and 61 Unknowns. In other words, 11% of TBA Female burials in the database contain 9% of bronze knives, 16% of TBA Male burials contain 37% of bronze knives and 18% of Unknown burials contain 54% of the bronze knives, the largest fraction.

Outcome: The above analyses demonstrate a correlation between daggers/knives and burials determined to be TBA Female; therefore the logic that weapons were the provision of males only has been proven wrong. As both Male and Female burials may include these items, a dagger/knife alone cannot plausibly be used to establish sex. Therefore, it follows that a burial containing a dagger/knife, which has been sexed as TBA Male or TBA Female, must have been determined as such on the basis of another artefact, one considered to be a primary indicator of gender. Consequently, a burial having a dagger/knife, plus additional non-discriminating items (tutuli, finger rings, etc.), cannot legitimately be identified as Male or Female. However, there are a number of examples which will later be discussed (in section 5.2) for which this is the case, thus further demonstrating the unreliability of this approach.

5.1.11 Cluster Analysis

Objective: In each of the preceding analyses discussed in this chapter, variables most related to biases in the mortuary record, that is Sex and Artefact Type, were examined with the aim of deconstructing the binary approach and its affect on research concerning the Danish Bronze Age. However, to facilitate a greater appreciation of patterning that may be more reflective of genuine social processes within the burials it is necessary to observe the distribution of artefacts free from bias. In order to gain a clearer picture of patterns which occur in the dataset, it is helpful to employ a two-step cluster analysis which will initially examine the relationship between artefact types and their materials of manufacture. A second cluster analysis will then examine the impact of regional and chronological variables on the cluster formation of artefact types. In addition, while the first part of each analysis will utilise unsexed material, in the latter part I will utilise material gathered from osteologically examined remains. This will enable a comparison of patterns between burials in which sex was assigned according to the distribution of artefact types and those burials, though of a reduced number, to which sex was assigned through established scientific methods. In this manner, correlations between artefact types as well as their overall distribution within the clusters can be examined for indications of social meaning whilst avoiding the manipulative influence of binary assumptions.

Analysis: Able to process large sets of data, including categorical variables, a two-step cluster analysis, is an ideal exploratory tool for this investigation (Zang et. al 1997). Before proceeding, as a precautionary measure it is important to randomise cases in the dataset prior to executing a two-step cluster analysis, as their initial order may influence the final outcome (Bacher et al. 2004; Norušis 2006). Beginning with the total data, a two-step method first groups cases into numerous sub-clusters. Treating each of these subsets as a case, the analysis then aggregates them into a final number of clusters. In SPSS, this is executed through application of a model based hierarchical cluster analysis (Chiu et al. 2001). Prior to the pre-cluster phase hierarchical analysis would be unable to process such a large data set; however, in

this initial step the data is condensed, thus reducing the sum of cases. The resulting number of clusters is determined by the two-step algorithm according to what is appropriate for the data set. First an estimation is developed during early stages of the clustering process through a calculation of the Bayesian Information Criterion (BIC). The clusters are then refined in step two according to the distance measure most appropriate for the data. The BIC for cluster k is calculated as follows:

$$BIC(k) = -2l_k + r_k \log n \tag{5.4}$$

when and l_k is the number of categories for the k-th continuous variable and r_k is the number of independent Bayesian Information Criterion (Bacher et al. 2004; Chiu et al. 2001).

Criteria for determining which cases are sorted into which clusters is dictated by the distance measure log-likelihood as it is most suitable for analysing categorical variables. As a condition of this analysis it is assumed that the variables, as well as the cases, are statistically independent. As categorical variables it is also assumed the data are of multinomial distribution (Norušis 2006), meaning it is probable the data will produce multiple outcomes, as opposed to binomial distributions for continuous variables which have only the probability of producing up to two outcomes (David 1951). The similarity between two variables is calculated based upon the decreased log-likelihood distance between them, thereby merging them into the same cluster (Chiu et al. 2001). The calculation of Log-likelihood distance, d, between clusters t and s is as follows:

$$d(i,s) = \xi_i + \xi_s - \xi_{<i,s>} \tag{5.5}$$

where

$$\xi_i = -n_i\left(\sum_{j=1}^{p}\frac{1}{2}\log\left(\hat{\sigma}_{ij}^2 + \hat{\sigma}_j^2\right) - \sum_{j=1}^{q}\sum_{l=1}^{mj}\hat{n}_{ijl}\log\left(\hat{n}_{ijl}\right)\right) \tag{5.6}$$

$$\xi_s = -n_s\left(\sum_{j=1}^{p}\frac{1}{2}\log\left(\hat{\sigma}_{sj}^2 + \hat{\sigma}_j^2\right) - \sum_{j=1}^{q}\sum_{l=1}^{mj}\hat{n}_{sjl}\log\left(\hat{n}_{sjl}\right)\right) \tag{5.7}$$

$$\xi_{(i,s)} = -n_{(i,s)}\left(\sum_{j=1}^{p}\frac{1}{2}\log\left(\hat{\sigma}^2_{(1,s)j} + \hat{\sigma}^2_j\right) - \sum_{j=1}^{q}\sum_{l=1}^{mj}\hat{\pi}_{(i,s)jl}\log\left(\hat{\pi}_{(i,s)jl}\right)\right) \quad (5.8)$$

when $\prec i, s \succ$ represents the cluster formed by merging clusters i and s, n is the total number of data records, n_i is the total number of records in cluster i and n_s is the total number of records in cluster s, ξ_i represents the variance in cluster i, ξ_s represents variance in cluster s and $\xi_{(i,s)}$ or ξ_v represents the variance in the new cluster $\prec i, s \succ$. Each equation is composed of two parts. When x is the cluster variable i, s or $\prec i, s \succ$ the first part, $-n_x\sum\frac{1}{2}\log\left(\hat{\sigma}^2_{xj} + \hat{\sigma}^2_j\right)$, measures dispersion of the continuous variables, while dispersion of the categorical variables is measured in the second part by the entropy $-n_x\sum_{j=1}^{q}\sum_{i=1}^{m_j}\hat{\pi}_{xjl}\log\left(\hat{\pi}_{xjl}\right)$. Finally, the log-likelihood measure for k clusters is defined as:

$$l_k = \sum_{v=1}^{k}\xi_v \quad (5.9)$$

where, in the case of analyses using only categorical data, as I have done here, l_k represents the entropy (Bacher et al 2004; Chiu et al. 2001).

Simply put, distance is measured by how correlated or disconnected the cases are in terms of shared traits. Greater cohesion must be expressed among members of the same cluster than between members of independent clusters (Cormack 1971). The process of sorting cases into clusters is performed by means of a Cluster Features (CF) Tree composed of non-leaf nodes and leaf nodes (Chiu et al. 2001). The children in a non-leaf or parent node, function to promptly guide cases into their appropriate sub-clusters which are then stored in leaf nodes (Zang et. al 1997; Chiu et al. 2001). A CF Tree is described as height balanced, meaning it is constructed from the top (or root node) by offshoot nodes which branch downward, growing away from it. When a case is introduced it is directed by the closest corresponding element in the root node to the nearest matching child node. From here it is guided down the tree to the leaf node containing the most congruous entry into which it will be absorbed should the leaf node's threshold be accommodating (Zang et. al 1997;

Chiu et al. 2001). At this point the tree is updated and the next entry is introduced. However, were the addition of a case to violate the threshold, an entry could be split, as could a leaf or a crowded parent node, to better facilitate sorting of the data. Thereby, a CF Tree represents a condensed version of the dataset, as each leaf node is composed of a sub-cluster, rather than individual cases (Zang et. al 1997; Chiu et al. 2001). These are merged further in step two, producing the final outcome. Essentially, in the first stage, each case is examined and may be grouped with others to form a cluster. However, if during this process a case is found to be divergent from those in existing clusters, it will be isolated as the origin of a new cluster to which other related cases may be added (Zang et. al 1997; Chiu et al. 2001). Following the pre-clustering phase, each secondary cluster is then sorted into the final number of primary clusters established by the algorithm (Chiu et al. 2001).

By focussing the analysis exclusively on the variables 'Artefact Type' and 'Material' any manipulation of the data resulting from the arbitrary sexing of burials is removed. Eliminating this bias allows the clustering algorithm to identify natural grouping characteristics within the variable artefact type , thus avoiding the influence of assumptions concerning sex. Objects which occur in greater frequency in a particular cluster, or whose total count is restricted to a single cluster, provide the greatest clues toward decoding a cluster's overall membership. Though many of the object types having miniscule quantities within the database may be restricted to a particular cluster (making them seem significant) they are likely to be of less significance to the overall cluster formation than those which occur in higher quantities.

Cluster 1 is composed of jewellery and tools, though only in minute quantities per object, but also contains the largest number of miscellaneous artefact types (animal parts, discs, fabric, inlay, leather fragments, metal fragments, natural unshaped materials, other, rings and wire) out of the three clusters and, to a lesser extent, weaponry. Items which occur in the largest quantities are: beads (28), natural unshaped materials (26), vessels (28) and flint lithic tools (52).

Cluster Distribution of Artefact Types Grouped by Material

Artefact Type	Cluster 1 N(%)	Cluster2 N(%)	Cluster 3 N(%)	Total
Animal Parts	15 (100)	0 (0)	0 (0)	15
Ankle Ring	0 (0)	8 (100)	0 (0)	8
Arm Band	1 (5)	19 (95)	0 (0)	20
Arm Ring	12 (23)	40 (77)	0 (0)	52
Arm Spiral	7 (19)	30 (81)	0 (0)	37
Awl	1 (2)	0 (0)	50 (98)	51
Axe	3 (9)	32 (91)	0 (0)	35
Bead	28 (97)	1 (3)	0 (0)	29
Belt Box	0 (0)	2 (100)	0 (0)	2
Belt Hook	0 (0)	0 (0)	12 (100)	12
Belt Plate	0 (0)	0 (0)	27 (100)	27
Bowl	6 (100)	0 (0)	0 (0)	6
Box	4 (67)	2(33)	0 (0)	6
Button	3 (50)	3 (50)	0 (0)	6
Chape	0 (0)	0 (0)	11 (100)	11
Chisel	1 (33)	2 (67)	0 (0)	3
Comb	5 (83)	1 (17)	0 (0)	6
Dagger	9 (7)	0 (0)	118 (93)	127
Disc	2 (50)	2 (50)	0 (0)	4
Double Button	1 (1)	0 (0)	94 (99)	95
Fabric	3 (100)	0 (0)	0 (0)	3
Fibula	0 (0)	151 (100)	0 (0)	151
Finger Ring	3 (33)	0 (0)	6 (27)	9
Finger Spiral	15 (38)	0 (0)	25 (63)	40
Fish Hook	0 (0)	4 (100)	0 (0)	4
Flint Blade	5 (100)	0 (0)	0 (0)	5
Flint Lithic Tool	52 (100)	0 (0)	0 (0)	52
Flint Piece(s)	5 (100)	0 (0)	0 (0)	5
Flint Point	10 (100)	0 (0)	0 (0)	10
Hair Ring	2 (18)	9 (82)	0 (0)	11
Hanging Vessel	0 (0)	1 (100)	0 (0)	1
Inlay	13 (100)	0 (0)	0 (0)	13
Knife	1 (.90)	0 (0)	113 (99)	114
Lance Point	0 (0)	0 (0)	13 (100)	13
Leather Fragment(s)	6 (100)	0 (0)	0 (0)	6
Metal Fragment(s)	2 (9)	20 (91)	0 (0)	22
Miniature Dagger	0 (0)	1 (100)	0 (0)	1
Miniature Sword	0 (0)	0 (0)	3 (100)	3
Nail(s)	0 (0)	2 (100)	0 (0)	2
Natural Unshaped Material(s)	26 (100)	0 (0)	0 (0)	26
Neck Collar	0 (0)	0 (0)	24 (100)	24
Neck Ring	0 (0)	0 (0)	13 (100)	13
Needle	1 (5)	21 (95)	0 (0)	22
Other	20 (74)	7 (26)	0 (0)	27
Pendant	2 (100)	0 (0)	0 (0)	2
Pin	1 (3)	28 (97)	0 (0)	29
Razor	1 (1)	0 (0)	91 (99)	92
Ring(s)	1 (9)	10 (91)	0 (0)	11
Saw	0 (0)	7 (100)	0 (0)	7
Scraper	1 (100)	0 (0)	0 (0)	1

Artefact Type	Cluster 1 N(%)	Cluster2 N(%)	Cluster 3 N(%)	Total
Short Sword	0 (0)	4 (100)	0 (0)	4
Sickle	1 (25)	0 (0)	3 (75)	4
Spiral	2 (14)	0 (0)	12 (86)	14
Sword	0 (0)	0 (0)	204 (100)	204
Toilet Case	5 (100)	0 (0)	0 (0)	5
Tubes	0 (0)	9 (100)	0 (0)	9
Tutuli	0 (0)	77 (100)	0 (0)	77
Tweezers	0 (0)	75 (100)	0 (0)	75
Vessel	28 (100)	0 (0)	0 (0)	28
Wire	1 (20)	4 (80)	0 (0)	5

Table 5.17: Results of a two-step cluster analysis of data sexed by artefact associations in which the variable 'Artefact Type' has been grouped by 'Material'.

Items in Cluster 1 representing the largest percentage of occurrence between clusters 1 to 3 (due in part to low overall representativity in the database or highest count within the cluster) are: animal parts (18 or 100%), beads (28 or 97%), bowls (6 or 100%), boxes (4 or 67%), combs (5 or 83%), fabric (3 or 100%), flint blade (5 or 100%), flint lithic tool (52 or 100%), flint pieces (5 or 100%), flint points (10 or 100%), inlay (13 or 100%), leather fragments (6 or 100%), natural unshaped materials (26 or 100%), other (20 or 74%), toilet cases (5 or 100%) and vessels (28 or 100%). Artefact types occurring only in Cluster 1, though in perhaps in smaller frequencies are: animal parts, bowls, fabric, flint blades, flint lithic tools, flint pieces, flint points, inlay, leather fragments, natural unshaped materials, toilet cases and vessels.

Marked by the greatest diversity of artefact types, Cluster 2 appears most evidently defined by jewellery, but also contains the largest amount of the grooming implements present in the data and a small number of weapons and tools. In addition, a few miscellaneous artefact types (boxes, metal fragments and wire) appear. Items which occur in the largest quantities are: arm rings (40), arm spirals (30), axes (32), fibulae (151), razors (91), tutuli (77) and tweezers (75).

Items in Cluster 2 representing the largest percentage of occurrence between clusters 1 to 3 (due in part to low overall representativity in the database or highest count within the cluster) are: ankle rings (8 or 100%), arm bands (19 or 95%), arm rings

(40 or 77%), arm spirals (30 or 81%), belt boxes (2 or 100%), chisels (2 or 67 %), fibulae (151 or 100%), fish hooks (4 or 100%), hair rings (9 or 82%), hanging vessels (1 or 100%), metal fragments (20 or 91%), miniature daggers (1 or 100%), Nails (2 or 100%), Needles (21 or 95%), Pendants (2 or 100%), pins (28 or 97%), razors (91 or 100%), rings (10 or 91%), Saws (7 or 100%), short swords (4 or 100%), tubes (9 or 100%) tutuli (77 or 100%) tweezers (75 or 100%) and wire (4 or 80%). Items occurring only in Cluster 2, though mostly in minute quantities, are: ankle rings, belt boxes, fibulae, fish hooks, hanging vessels, miniature daggers, nails, saws, short swords, tubes, tutuli and tweezers.

Cluster 3, exhibiting the least variety of artefact types in the analysis, is primarily composed of jewellery and, to a lesser degree, weaponry. Also present are chapes (a bronze component of sword and dagger sheaths) and tools (awls and sickles). Items which occur in the largest quantities are: awls (50), double buttons (94), daggers (118), knives (113) and swords (204).

Items in Cluster 3 representing the largest percentage of occurrence between clusters 1 to 3 (due in part to low overall representativity in the database or highest count within the cluster) are: awls (50 or 98%), belt hooks (12 or 100%), belt plates (27 or 100%), chapes (11 or 100%), daggers (118 or 93%), double buttons (94 or 99%), finger spirals (25 or 62%), knives (113 or 99%), lance points (13 or 100%), miniature swords (3 or 100%), neck collars (24 or 100%), neck rings (13 or 100%), sickles (3 or 75%), spirals (12 or 86%) and swords (204 or 100%). Items restricted to Cluster 3 in their distribution are: belt hooks, belt plates, chapes, lance points, miniature swords, neck collars, neck rings and swords.

Though Cluster 1, contains a variety of items from each artefact category it is distinguished by none of them. Rather, most items are present only in minute quantities with the exception of flint lithic tools. However, the bulk of miscellaneous artefact types, those which cannot be easily categorised, share membership in Cluster 1 (see Table 5.17). These include animal parts, fabric, inlay, leather fragments, metal fragments, natural unshaped materials and flint pieces. Containers such as vessels,

boxes and bowls are nearly exclusive to this group. On the whole, this cluster is composed of many objects in small sums, some of which (according to the system in use) are gender specific, while others are not restricted to either sex, punctuated by those of a more ambiguous nature. For this reason, it is also defined by a large variety of material types (animal parts including shell and bone, fabric being of wool and atlas, and the natural unshaped materials ranging from ochre to amber and wood).

Membership of Clusters 2 and 3 accounts for the highest frequency of artefacts per type in the dataset (see Table 5.17). The highest number of ornamental object types occur in Cluster 2, many of which, according to the current system in use, are associated with both sexes. Of these, membership of fibulae and tutuli is exclusive to Cluster 2. Grooming implements, razors and tweezers, are also restricted to this cluster. In Cluster 3, items treated as the supreme indicators of gender, i.e. swords and belt plates, are represented absolutely alongside daggers and knives which occur in near exclusivity. Other items, belt hooks, neck collars lance points and neck rings, are restricted to this group which also accounts for 99% of double buttons and awls. In other words, membership of Cluster 3 is characterised by the distinct presence of objects favoured as gender indicators in conjunction with artefact types of indeterminate association, as well as those which (within the confines of the current system) appear more sex specific. This is not to imply that swords and belt plates are commonly associated in burials, but rather that they share a common connection with some of the same artefact types, such as the daggers, knives, spirals, awls and finger ornaments also present in this cluster. As Material was utilised as the grouping variable, a closer look at the materials of manufacture represented in each cluster will help to clarify the distribution pattern of artefact types in this analysis.

From examination of Table 5.18 in which the frequency of material types and their distribution across the three clusters is depicted, it is apparent that Cluster 1 contains the widest variety of materials, and, whilst clusters 2 and 3 are restricted to bronze, it is the only material not present in Cluster 1. No objects exist in both Cluster 2 and Cluster 3, and those few which do not occur one hundred percent of the time in either

also have a minute distribution in Cluster 1 caused by artefacts which are of the same type, but a different material, for example a gold versus a bronze arm ring. This demonstrates that as a grouping variable, Material has exerted a strong influence upon which artefacts were clustered together. However, the influence of Material cannot be entirely credited for the manner in which the artefact types have been assembled across the three clusters. Though the analysis assembled all non-bronze objects in Cluster 1, it divided the bronze material into two clusters rather than combining them to form a single group, suggesting that a secondary mechanism was also instrumental in determining which items would be placed together.

Cluster Distribution of Material Types

Material	Cluster 1 N(%)	Cluster 2 N(%)	Cluster 3 N(%)	Total
Amber	31 (100)	0 (0)	0 (0)	31
Bone	12 (100)	0 (0)	0 (0)	12
Bronze	0 (0)	574 (41)	819 (59)	1393
Ceramic	31 (100)	0 (0)	0 (0)	31
Flint	87 (100)	0 (0)	0 (0)	87
Glass	9 (100)	0 (0)	0 (0)	9
Gold	57 (100)	0 (0)	0 (0)	57
Horn	9 (100)	0 (0)	0 (0)	9
Iron	2 (100)	0 (0)	0 (0)	2
Leather	14 (100)	0 (0)	0 (0)	14
Mother of Pearl	1 (100)	0 (0)	0 (0)	1
Other	12 (100)	0 (0)	0 (0)	12
Pyrite	13 (100)	0 (0)	0 (0)	13
Resin	2 (100)	0 (0)	0 (0)	2
Shell	7 (100)	0 (0)	0 (0)	7
Tin	1 (100)	0 (0)	0 (0)	1
Wood	15 (100)	0 (0)	0 (0)	15
Wool	3 (100)	0 (0)	0 (0)	3

Table 5.18: Results from a two-step cluster analysis of data sexed by artefact associations in which the variable 'Artefact Type' has been grouped by 'Material' depicting the frequency of material types represented in each cluster.

For the dataset containing osteologically sexed burials, two-step cluster analyses have been executed using the Akaike Information Criterion or AIC (Mousraki & Papageorgiou 2005), as the stricter parameters of BIC would over penalise the data

restricting the number of clusters which it may be possible to observe . The AIC for k clusters is calculated as follows:

$$AIC(k) = -2l_k + 2r_k \quad (5.10)$$

Where l_k is the log likelihood function (see equation 5.8), or entropy between clusters where only categorical data is used, as is the case here, and r_k is the number of independent parameters (Bacher et al. 2004). The results, depicted in Table 5.19, show that when the records in the dataset containing burials which have been osteologically sexed are analysed using a two-step cluster analysis of the variables Artefact Type and Material they form only two clusters.

Though only in minute quantities per object, Cluster 1 is largely composed of weaponry, tools and ornamental objects, but also contains grooming implements and miscellaneous objects. Items which occur in the largest quantities are: fibulae (7) and swords (6). In addition, Cluster 1 contains the widest variety of artefact types. While subject to low overall representativity in the database, all items in Cluster 1, but for hair and arm rings, are restricted to this cluster in their occurrence.

Cluster Distribution of Artefact Types Grouped by Material

Artefact Type	Cluster 1 N(%)	Cluster 2 N(%)	Total
Animal Parts	0 (0)	2 (100)	2
Arm Ring	5 (100)	1 (17)	6
Awl	4 (100)	0 (0)	4
Axe	2 (100)	0 (0)	2
Bead	0 (0)	2 (100)	2
Belt Hook	1 (100)	0 (0)	1
Belt Plate	3 (100)	0 (0)	3
Box	0 (0)	2 (100)	2
Chisel	1 (100)	0 (0)	1
Comb	0 (0)	5 (100)	5
Dagger	5 (100)	0 (0)	5
Double Button	3 (100)	0 (0)	3
Fibula	7 (100)	0 (0)	7
Finger Spiral	3 (100)	0 (0)	3
Flint Lithic Tool	0 (0)	2 (100)	2
Hair Ring	1 (50)	1 (50)	2
Knife	4 (100)	0 (0)	4

Nail(s)	1 (100)	0 (0)	1
Natural Unshaped Material(s)	0 (0)	2 (100)	2
Neck Ring	1 (100)	0 (0)	1
Needle	1 (0)	0 (0)	1
Other	0 (0)	2 (100)	2
Razor	2 (100)	0 (0)	2
Ring(s)	1 (100)	0 (0)	1
Saw	1 (100)	0 (0)	1
Spiral	1 (100)	0 (0)	1
Sword	6 (100)	0 (0)	6
Tutuli	1 (100)	0 (0)	1
Tweezers	2 (100)	0 (0)	2
Vessel	0 (0)	1 (100)	1
Wedge	0 (0)	1 (100)	1

Table 5.19: Results of a two-step cluster analysis of osteologically examined data in which the variable 'Artefact Type' has been grouped by 'Material'.

Containing the smallest number of artefact types Cluster 2 is, in the main, composed of ornamental objects and miscellaneous artefact types, but also contains tools and a single grooming implement. The item which occurs in the largest quantity is combs (5). Excluding arm and hair rings, which are divided between the two clusters, all other objects in Cluster 2 are restricted in their distribution. The results depicted in Table 5.20 explain this patterning.

Cluster Distribution of Material Types

Material	Cluster 1 N(%)	Cluster 2 N(%)	Total
Amber	0 (0)	1 (100)	1
Bone	0 (0)	1 (100)	1
Bronze	56 (100)	0 (0)	56
Ceramic	0 (0)	1 (100)	1
Flint	0 (0)	4 (100)	4
Glass	0 (0)	2 (100)	2
Gold	0 (0)	2 (100)	2
Horn	0 (0)	4 (100)	4
Leather	0 (0)	1 (100)	1
Shell	0 (0)	2 (100)	2
Wood	0 (0)	3 (100)	3

Table 5.20: Results from a two-step cluster analysis depicting the frequency of material types represented in each cluster. Artefact Type records in the dataset containing osteologically examined Burials have been grouped by the variable 'Material'.

As shown in Table 5.20 above, the first cluster is composed entirely of objects made from bronze, whilst items in the second cluster are composed of every other material present including amber, bone, ceramic, flint, glass, gold, horn, leather, shell and wood. Thus, whilst the first analysis which examined burials that had been classified as Male, Female or Unknown on the basis of artefact type associations produced three clusters, in the analysis of osteologically sexed burials that followed, only two clusters were formed.

However, it is essential to keep in mind when considering these results that there are fewer types of artefacts manufactured from fewer materials and fewer objects overall in this dataset. Table 5.21 lists the items not represented in the osteologically examined dataset which are present in the larger dataset of burials sexed by non-scientific means. This reduction of variation in the variable categories 'Artefact Type' and 'Material' in addition to the decreased quantity of artefacts from one dataset to the other must be taken into account in view of the differing number of clusters between the first and second analyses. The fact that in the previous analysis there is a greater diversity of artefact types, manufactured from a wider range of materials which happened to group into three clusters, indicates that where there is more variation there is likely to be overlapping association between artefact types which affects their classification into and distribution between clusters.

Artefact Types Absent from the Osteological Dataset

Ornamental Objects	Miscellaneous objects	Weapons/Tools
Hanging Vessel	Leather Fragments	Fish Hook
Ankle Ring	Bowl	Flint Blade
Tubes	Toilet Case	Flint Point
Arm band	Chape	Lance Point
Arm Spiral	Wire	Miniature Dagger
Pin	Disc	Miniature Sword
Belt Box	Fabric	Lance Point
Button	Flint Pieces	Scraper
Neck Collar	Inlay	Short Sword
Finger Ring	Metal Fragments	
Pendant		

Table 5.21: Artefact types that are present in the dataset containing Burials sexed by artefact associations, but which do not occur in the smaller dataset of scientifically sexed remains.

As material appears to have exerted a considerable influence on the clustering of the artefacts, it is useful to reanalyse the data with the inclusion of further variables. This may help to temper the impact of Material on the grouping of artefact types, thereby allowing observation of how other variables affect classification of the data. To this end, the variables 'Region' and 'Period' were added to the analysis and the data was re-examined, beginning with the dataset in which sex was assigned to burials based upon artefact associations. In addition to being significant factors in the construction of the archaeological record, it may be that the inclusion of these variables can further elucidate patterns in artefact type distribution as they pertain the mortuary record of Bronze Age Denmark.

Cluster Distribution of Artefact Types Grouped by Material, Period and Region

Artefact Type	Cluster 1 N(%)	Cluster 2 N(%)	Cluster 3 N(%)	Total
Animal Parts	0 (0)	0 (0)	18 (100)	18
Ankle Ring	2 (25)	6 (75)	0 (0)	8
Arm Band	8 (40)	12 (60)	0 (0)	20
Arm Ring	14 (27)	26 (50)	12 (23)	52
Arm Spiral	16 (43)	14 (38)	7 (19)	37
Awl	36 (71)	14 (27)	1 (2)	51
Axe	17 (49)	15 (43)	3 (9)	35
Bead	0 (0)	1 (3)	28 (97)	29
Belt Box	0 (0)	2 (100)	0 (0)	2
Belt Hook	10 (83)	2 (17)	0 (0)	27
Belt Plate	17 (63)	10 (37)	0 (0)	27
Bowl	0 (0)	0 (0)	6 (100)	6
Box	2 (33)	0 (0)	4 (67)	6
Button	4 (67)	0 (0)	2 (33)	6
Chape	2 (18)	9 (82)	0 (0)	11
Chisel	2 (67)	0 (0)	1 (33)	3
Comb	1 (17)	0 (0)	5 (83)	6
Dagger	58 (46)	60 (47)	9 (7)	127
Disc	1 (25)	1 (25)	2 (50)	4
Double Button	53 (56)	42 (44)	0 (0)	95
Fabric	0 (0)	0 (0)	3 (100)	3
Fibula	58 (38)	93 (62)	0 (0)	151
Finger Ring	3 (33)	3 (33)	3 (33)	9
Finger Spiral	7 (18)	18 (45)	15 (38)	40
Fish Hook	4 (100)	0 (0)	0 (0)	4
Flint Blade	0 (0)	0 (0)	5 (100)	5
Flint Lithic Tool	0 (0)	0 (0)	52 (100)	52
Flint Piece(s)	0 (0)	0 (0)	5 (100)	5

Artefact Type	Cluster 1 N(%)	Cluster 2 N(%)	Cluster 3 N(%)	Total
Flint Point	0 (0)	0 (0)	10 (100)	10
Hair Ring	2 (18)	7 (64)	2 (18)	11
Hanging Vessel	0 (0)	1 (100)	0 (0)	1
Inlay	0 (0)	0 (0)	13 (100)	13
Knife	52 (46)	61 (54)	1 (1)	114
Lance Point	7 (54)	6 (46)	0 (0)	13
Leather Fragment(s)	0 (0)	0 (0)	6 (100)	6
Metal Fragment(s)	8 (36)	14 (64)	0 (0)	22
Miniature Dagger	1 (100)	0 (0)	0 (0)	1
Miniature Sword	3 (100)	0 (0)	0 (0)	3
Nail(s)	1 (50)	1 (50)	0 (0)	2
Natural Unshaped Material(s)	0 (0)	0 (0)	26 (100)	26
Neck Collar	16 (67)	8 (33)	0 (0)	24
Neck Ring	4 (31)	9 (69)	0 (0)	13
Needle	21 (95)	0 (0)	1 (5)	22
Other	4 (15)	3 (11)	20 (74)	27
Pendant	1 (50)	1 (50)	0 (0)	2
Pin	15 (52)	13 (45)	1 (3)	29
Razor	53 (58)	39 (42)	0 (0)	92
Ring(s)	7 (64)	3 (27)	1 (9)	11
Saw	7 (100)	0 (0)	0 (0)	7
Scraper	0 (0)	0 (0)	1 (100)	1
Short Sword	1 (25)	3 (75)	0 (0)	4
Sickle	2 (50)	1 (25)	1 (25)	4
Spiral	5 (36)	7 (50)	2 (14)	14
Sword	110 (54)	94 (46)	0 (0)	204
Toilet Case	0 (0)	0 (0)	5 (100)	5
Tubes	8 (89)	1 (11)	0 (0)	9
Tutuli	46 (60)	31 (30)	0 (0)	77
Tweezers	49 (65)	26 (35)	0 (0)	75
Vessel	0 (0)	0 (0)	28 (100)	28
Wire	1 (20)	3 (60)	1 (20)	5

Table 5.22: Results of a two-step cluster analysis of the dataset containing burials sexed by artefact associations in which the variable 'Artefact Type' has been grouped by the variables 'Material', 'Region' and 'Period'.

Exhibiting the greatest diversity of artefact types in the analysis, Cluster 1 is, in the main, composed of ornamental objects, followed by weaponry, tools, miscellaneous items and grooming implements. The items in Cluster 1 which occur in the largest quantities are: swords (110), daggers (58) and fibulae (58). Items in Cluster 1 representing the largest percentage of occurrence between clusters 1 to 3 (due in part

to low overall representativity in the dataset or highest count within the cluster) are: belt hooks (10 or 83%), fish hooks (4 or 100%), miniature daggers (1 or 100%), miniature swords (3 or 100%), needles (21 or 95%), saws (7 or 100%) and tubes (8 or 89%). Items restricted to Cluster 1 in their distribution, though in small number, are: fish hooks, miniature daggers, miniature swords and saws.

Cluster 2 is primarily composed of jewellery and miscellaneous artefact types, but also contains some weaponry and a single tool and a few grooming implements. The objects which occur in the largest quantity are: daggers (60), fibulae (93), knives (61) and swords (94). Items in Cluster 2 representing the largest percentage of occurrence between clusters 1 to 3 (due in part to low overall representativity in the dataset or highest count within the cluster) are: ankle rings (6 or 75%), belt boxes (2 or 100%), hanging vessels (1 or 100%), neck rings (9 or 69%) and short swords (3 or 75%). Items restricted to Cluster 2 in their distribution, though in small number, are: belt boxes and hanging vessels.

Cluster 3 chiefly contains miscellaneous objects followed by jewellery, weaponry, tools and a single grooming implement. In Cluster 3, the artefacts with the highest frequency of occurrence are: beads (28), flint lithic tools (52), natural unshaped materials (26) and vessels (28). Items in Cluster 3 representing the largest percentage of occurrence between clusters 1 to 3 (due in part to low overall representativity in the dataset or highest count within the cluster) are: animal parts (18 or 100%), beads (28 or 97%), bowls (6 or 100%), combs (5 or 83%), fabric (3 or 100%), flint blades (5 or 100%), flint pieces (5 or 100%), flint points (10 or 100%), inlay (13 or 100%), leather fragments (6 or 100%), natural unshaped materials (26 or 100%), other (20 or 74%), scrapers (1 or 100%), toilet cases (5 or 100%) and vessels (28 or 100%). Most of these items seldom occur in the dataset and appear only in Cluster 3.

It is clear from the results depicted in Table 5.23 that the addition of new variables has done little to alter the distribution of material types between the three clusters in this analysis. Though bronze is now the dominant material in Cluster 1 there is also a single object made of horn. Whilst Cluster 1 contains the largest quantity of bronze

in the analysis, Cluster 2 is mainly composed of bronze and contains the latter percentage of bronze artefacts in the dataset as well as a minute quantity of iron and wood. All other materials present in the dataset now occur in Cluster 3 and, but for the horn, iron and wood items which appear in clusters 1 and 2, are limited to this group in their distribution.

Cluster Distribution of Material Types

Material	Cluster 1 N(%)	Cluster2 N(%)	Cluster3 N(%)	Total
Amber	0 (0)	0 (0)	31 (100)	31
Bone	1 (8)	0 (0)	11 (92)	12
Bronze	737 (53)	656 (47)	0 (0)	1393
Ceramic	0 (0)	0 (0)	31 (100)	31
Flint	0 (0)	0 (0)	87 (100)	87
Glass	0 (0)	0 (0)	9 (100)	9
Gold	0 (0)	1 (2)	56 (98)	57
Horn	1 (11)	0 (0)	8 (89)	9
Iron	0 (0)	2 (100)	0 (0)	2
Leather	0 (0)	0 (0)	14 (100)	14
Mother of Pearl	0 (0)	0 (0)	1 (100)	1
Other	0 (0)	0 (0)	12 (100)	12
Pyrite	0 (0)	0 (0)	13 (100)	13
Resin	0 (0)	0 (0)	2 (100)	2
Shell	0 (0)	0 (0)	7 (100)	7
Tin	0 (0)	0 (0)	1 (100)	1
Wood	0 (0)	1 (7)	14 (93)	15
Wool	0 (0)	0 (0)	3 (100)	3

Table 5.23: Results from a two-step cluster analysis depicting the frequency of material types represented in each cluster. Artefact Type records in the dataset containing burials sexed by artefact associations were grouped by 'Material', 'Period' and 'Region'.

As well as containing the greatest quantity of bronze (see Table 5.23) the majority of artefact types featured in Cluster 1 have their origins in Sjælland (677), representing the largest percentage of objects from this region in the dataset. Primarily, items in this cluster date to periods II (248) and III (235); however this group also accounts for 94% (or 131) of objects from the later Bronze Age (or LBA in Table 5.24). Dominantly composed of bronze, objects in Cluster 2 come mainly from Bornholm (207) and Jylland (348) and date to periods II (210) and III (338). Of the three groupings, more artefacts in Cluster 2 correspond to Bornholm (88%) and Jylland

(68%), and though not as numerous in the dataset, objects from Fyn (49 or 79%) and Lolland (56 or 75%) also have the highest proportion of their distribution in this cluster. Containing the lowest quantity of artefact records and the widest range of materials, Cluster 3 is dominated by objects from Jyland (114) and Sjælland (139) with most of the artefacts dating to periods II (115) and III (92), as well as the Early Bronze Age (66; referred to as EBA in Table 5.24).

Chronological and Regional Distribution of Artefact Types by Cluster

Analysed Factors	Cluster 1 N(%)	Cluster 2 N(%)	Cluster 3 N(%)	Total
Region:				
Bornholm	5 (2)	207 (88)	23 (10)	235
Falster	1 (50)	0 (0)	1 (50)	2
Fyn	0 (0)	49 (79)	13 (21)	62
Jylland	47 (9)	348 (68)	114 (22)	509
Lolland	9 (12)	56 (75)	10 (13)	75
Sjælland	677 (83)	0 (0)	139 (17)	816
Period:				
EBA	52 (28)	65 (36)	66 (36)	183
I	3 (30)	5 (50)	2 (20)	10
II	248 (43)	210 (37)	115 (20)	573
III	235 (35)	338 (51)	92 (14)	665
LBA	131 (94)	0 (0)	9 (6)	140
IV	8 (73)	3 (27)	0 (0)	11
V	0 (0)	2 (100)	0 (0)	2
Unknown	62 (54)	37 (33)	16 (14)	115

Table 5.24: Results from a two-step cluster analysis depicting the frequency and distribution of artefact types between the periods and regions contained in the dataset. Artefact Type records in the dataset containing burials sexed by artefact associations have been grouped by 'Material', 'Period' and 'Region'.

When Period and Region are added to Material as grouping variables responsible for the cluster formation of Artefact Type, the new analysis produces 3 rather than 2 clusters, as demonstrated below in the Table 5.25. Listed in order of the quantities in which they occur, Cluster 1 contains ornamental objects, weaponry, tools, miscellaneous items and grooming implements. The objects which occur in the largest quantities are fibulae (6) and swords (5). Items in Cluster 1 representing the largest percentage of occurrence between clusters 1 to 3 (due in part to low overall representativity in the dataset or highest count within the cluster) are: knives (4 or

100%), fibulae (6 or 86%), needles (1 or 100%), rings (1 or 100%), spirals (1 or 100%), swords (5 or 83%) and tutuli (1 or 100%). Items restricted to Cluster 1 in their distribution, though in small number are: knives, needles, rings, spirals and tutuli.

Cluster Distribution of Artefact Types Grouped by Material, Period and Region

Artefact Type	Cluster 1 N(%)	Cluster 2 N(%)	Cluster 3 N(%)	Total
Animal Parts	2 (100)	0 (0)	0 (0)	2
Arm Ring	3 (50)	1 (17)	2 (33)	6
Awl	0 (0)	0 (0)	4 (100)	4
Axe	1 (50)	0 (0)	1 (50)	2
Bead	0 (0)	2 (100)	0 (0)	2
Belt Hook	0 (0)	0 (0)	1 (100)	1
Belt Plate	0 (0)	0 (0)	3 (100)	3
Box	0 (0)	2 (100)	0 (0)	2
Chisel	0 (0)	0 (0)	1 (100)	1
Comb	0 (0)	5 (100)	0 (0)	5
Dagger	3 (60)	0 (0)	2 (40)	5
Double Button	2 (67)	0 (0)	1 (22)	3
Fibula	6 (86)	0 (0)	1 (14)	7
Finger Spiral	1 (33)	0 (0)	2 (67)	3
Flint Lithic Tool	0 (0)	2 (100)	0 (0)	2
Hair Ring	0 (0)	1 (50)	1 (50)	2
Knife	4 (100)	0 (0)	0 (0)	4
Nail(s)	0 (0)	0 (0)	1 (100)	1
Natural Unshaped Material(s)	1 (50)	1 (50)	0 (0)	2
Neck Ring	0 (0)	(0)	1 (100)	1
Needle	1 (100)	0 (0)	0 (0)	1
Other	0 (0)	2 (100)	0 (0)	2
Razor	1 (50)	0 (0)	1 (50)	2
Ring(s)	1 (100)	0 (0)	0 (0)	1
Saw	0 (0)	0 (0)	1 (100)	1
Spiral	1 (100)	0 (0)	0 (0)	1
Sword	5 (83)	0 (0)	1 (17)	6
Tutuli	1 (100)	0 (0)	0 (0)	1
Tweezers	1 (50)	0 (0)	1 (50)	2
Vessel	0 (0)	1 (100)	0 (0)	1
Wedge	0 (0)	1 (100)	0 (0)	1

Table 5.25: Results of a two-step cluster analysis of osteologically examined data in which the variable 'Artefact Type' has been grouped by Material, Region and Period.

Containing the fewest artefact types, Cluster 2 is primarily composed of miscellaneous artefact types, but also contains ornamental objects, a few tools and a single grooming implement. The object which occurs in the largest quantity is combs (5). Items in Cluster 2 representing the largest percentage of occurrence between clusters 1 to 3 (due in part to low overall representativity in the dataset or highest count within the cluster) are: beads (2 or 100%), boxes (2 or 100%), combs (5 or 100%), flint lithic tools (2 or 100%), others (2 or 100%), vessels (1 or 100%) and wedges (1 or 100%). These items are restricted to Cluster 2 in their distribution and form a high proportion of the artefact content of this grouping.

Composed mainly of ornamental objects, but also weaponry, tools and, to a lesser extent, grooming implements and a single miscellaneous artefact, Cluster 3 exhibits the greatest diversity of artefact types in the analysis. In Cluster 3, the artefacts with the highest frequency of occurrence are: awls (4) and belt plates (3). Items in Cluster 3 representing the largest percentage of occurrence between clusters 1 to 3 (due in part to low overall representativity in the dataset or highest count within the cluster) are: awls (4 or 100%), belt hooks (1 or 100%), belt plates (3 or 100%), chisels (1 or 100%), finger spirals (2 or 67%), nails (1 or 100%), neck rings (1 or 100%) and saws (1 or 100%). Most of these items occur only in Cluster 3, though in minute quantities. Mechanisms underlying the pattern of artefact type distribution are outlined below in Tables 5.26 and 5.27.

As in the previous analysis of non-osteologically examined burials, there has been little change in the distribution of material types between clusters. While a third cluster strictly containing bronze objects appears to have branched off of Cluster 1, formed by the addition of new variables to the analysis, Clusters 1 and 2 differ only in that ceramic and shell have been added to bronze in the former, whilst the latter continues to be bronze free. Thus, membership of Cluster 2 continues to be the most varied regarding the materials used in artefact manufacture.

Cluster Distribution of Material Types

Material	Cluster 1 N(%)	Cluster 2 N(%)	Cluster 3 N(%)	Total
Amber	1 (100)	0 (0)	0 (0)	1
Bone	0 (0)	1 (100)	0 (0)	1
Bronze	31 (55)	0 (0)	25 (45)	56
Ceramic	0 (0)	1 (100)	0 (0)	1
Flint	0 (0)	4 (100)	0 (0)	4
Glass	0 (0)	2 (100)	0 (0)	2
Gold	0 (0)	2 (100)	0 (0)	2
Horn	0 (0)	4 (100)	0 (0)	4
Leather	0 (0)	1 (100)	0 (0)	1
Shell	2 (100)	0 (0)	0 (0)	2
Wood	0 (0)	3 (100)	0 (0)	3

Table 5.26: Results from a two-step cluster analysis depicting the frequency of material types represented in each cluster. Artefact Type records in the dataset containing osteologically examined burials have been grouped by Material, Period and Region.

Artefact types in Cluster 1 are closely divided between Jylland and Sjælland with the majority of objects from the latter region occurring here. This cluster also contains the highest proportion of artefacts dating to the earlier Bronze Age (12 or 100%), as well as Period III (13 or 57%) and those whose period of origin is unknown (6 or 86%; referred to in Table 5.18 as U). In Cluster 2, which contains the

Chronological and Regional Distribution of Artefact Types by Cluster

Analysed Factors	Cluster 1 N(%)	Cluster 2 N(%)	Cluster 3 N(%)	Total
Region:				
Jylland	18 (33)	12 (22)	25 (46)	55
Sjælland	16 (73)	6 (27)	0 (0)	22
Period:				
EBA	12 (100)	0 (0)	0 (0)	12
II	2 (6)	7 (21)	24 (73)	33
III	13 (57)	10 (43)	0 (0)	23
LBA	1 (50)	0 (0)	1 (50)	2
U	6 (86)	1 (14)	0 (0)	7

Table 5.27: Results from the two-step cluster analysis depicting the frequency and distribution of artefact types between periods and regions contained in the dataset. Artefact Type records in the dataset containing osteologically examined burials have been grouped by the variables 'Material', 'Period' and 'Region'.

lowest proportion of artefact types, but is characterised by the widest diversity of material types, twice as many objects derived from Jylland (12 or 22%) as from Sjælland (6 or 27%). Of these, the majority date to Period III (10 or 43%), but items dating to Period II (7 or 21%) and those of unknown date (1 or 14%) are contained in this cluster as well. In Cluster 3, a grouping of artefacts entirely composed of bronze, all objects correspond to Jylland (25) accounting for 46%, the largest proportion between clusters 1 to 3, of artefact types in the dataset from this region. Likewise, 24 of the 25 objects in this cluster date to Period II making up 73% of artefact types in the dataset from this period, whilst the last is of Late Bronze Age (1 or 50%) origin.

Outcome: Upon examination of cluster composition in the above analyses it becomes clear that not all objects which form a single cluster occur together in burials, nor would it be accurate to suggest that the artefacts are divided as such due to a lack of association in objects between clusters, i.e. that items in Cluster 1 are always separate from items in Cluster 2 or that items in Cluster 2 never occur with items in Cluster 3 and so on. As examination of the dataset in Appendix B would demonstrate, it is simply not the case that each artefact is restricted in association to objects within its own cluster, or that all items grouped into a cluster occur together in burials. This can be explained through the examination of cluster membership and the distribution frequency of artefacts between clusters; that is to say, within each cluster those artefact types occurring more frequently exert a stronger attraction, pulling the highly associated objects toward them. Thus, in the first analysis of burials from the dataset containing remains which were classified by artefact associations the clustering mechanism material initially grouped the artefacts into material types; however, a third cluster was produced, it's formation caused by shared associations between objects in each individual cluster. Were this not the case the analysis would have produced an outcome more like that generated by the smaller dataset of osteologically examined burials in which the artefacts were divided between two clusters, one composed entirely of bronze objects and another containing all items fashioned from other materials.

Further examination of the burials in each dataset included the introduction of two additional variables, 'Period' and 'Region', to the analysis. While the larger dataset was relatively unaffected by this, cluster formation of the smaller dataset containing anthropologically sexed burials appears to have been more susceptible to influence. This may possibly be due to the presence of a wider variety of materials, but also greater representativity of materials (for example the higher quantities of bronze, flint and gold) in the larger dataset which contains a more substantial number of objects. Moreover, the similarities in cluster formation which manifested between the two datasets with the addition of Period and Region to the analysis, further highlight the existence of a mechanism sufficiently able to moderate the influence of Material on how objects are sorted and grouped within a dataset characterised by greater variability of artefact types.

It would appear, then, that while certain artefact types might occur with some individuals and certain distinct types might have been utilised by others, there are objects which formed part of the assemblage with which both groups of people were associated. As such it may be that these items were meaningful in some way that was significant to various members of Danish Bronze Age society and were perhaps employed in the communication of cultural knowledge which was applicable to many, such as marital status, social position or age. That such items may exist and how they functioned in daily life could be of use in informing archaeologists about the socio-cultural dynamics of Danish bronze Age society. In the traditional binary approach the objective is to categorise burials as male or female relying principally on the contemporary attributes that have been ascribed to artefact types and their distribution in the mortuary record. While this may have been a somewhat effective tactic in the past, results generated by the two-step cluster analysis demonstrate that a degree of superficiality exists in categorising burials by traditional means. An approach that operates based upon understandings derived from contemporary Western biases and what data may be gleaned from a surface examination of mortuary remains, seems in danger of overlooking those objects imbued with more nuanced meanings which might have been relevant to various members of society,

rather than subject to restricted use by females or employment in strictly male activities.

5.2 Discussion

How burials are sexed and the specific concepts that are applied in this process can impose structure upon the data, obscuring its genuine composition. This is demonstrated throughout the chapter using analysis of mortuary data recorded in the most comprehensive site catalogues for this period of Danish prehistory. As such, the Aner and Kersten volumes are widely consulted and influential to Bronze Age research. However, the data which was gathered from county records and excavation reports, some dating to the 19th century, also reflects the prevailing attitudes of those by whom it was documented. This is most evident in the assignment of sex to burials, whereby the material contents of a grave were the sole determinants in deciphering male or female gender. Consequently, the population of Bronze Age Denmark has been interpreted according to binary principles. To investigate the depth of this problem the statistical analyses which constitute this chapter were undertaken.

In section 5.1.2 a chi-square analysis was used to determine whether any relationship exists between a burial's sex and artefact types found in the grave, according to the aforementioned site documentation. Having produced a high chi-square statistic and low significance value it was deduced that an association between the two variables is evident. However, further examination (see Table 5.11) shows the direction of the relationship is such that, while predicting which artefact types one would expect to find in a grave based upon a burial's sex, with any degree of accuracy, is beyond the bounds of possibility, inferring a burial's sex from inclusive artefact types would be more profitable. Therefore, rather than demonstrating a natural relationship between artefact type and sex, the above analyses indicate that the sexing of burials in the TBA system is directly dependant upon the types of artefact present in a grave. Furthermore, the fact that one cannot predict a grave's contents on the basis of a burial's sex verifies that some artefact types cannot be isolated to either male or female graves, nor can they be used to determine sex; and the fact that a number of

artefact types are not exclusive to one sex indicates this rigid classification of burials and the gendering of artefact types may be convenient, but it is also artificial and misleading.

This is further illustrated in results of the correspondence analysis pictured in Figure 5.2. The polarisation of artefact types represented in the plot may at first glance seem to indicate an ideology composed of only two genders; however, it more accurately depicts academic bias. This split-males, weaponry and tools on the right, females and jewellery on the left-illustrates the methodology behind this approach. Criteria according to which the mortuary data is arranged dictates that gender in Bronze Age Denmark was organised according to a binary system in which weaponry and tools were associated with masculinity, whilst femininity was displayed through ornamentation. Even considering this prevalent assumption on the basis of data collected from Aner and Kersten (1973; 1976; 1977; 1981; 1984), weapons (daggers and knives), tools (awls) and jewellery (fibulae, tutuli, beads, arm and finger rings) did not occur preferentially with either males or females (see Table 5.1, Appendix A). This is not to say there are no gender specific mortuary items. Rather, the degree of overlap, visible even when data is forced into a scheme which produces an asymmetrical record, perhaps indicates a less rigidly structured system of gender organisation than previously assumed. Burials with a dagger and an arm ring, for instance, could just as well be male as female, archaeological evidence has yet to identify any inaccuracy in this statement. Nevertheless, individuals buried with weapons are decidedly called male (see Site ID's 69, Burial No. 1; 208, Burial No. 1; 389, Burial No. 1; 589, Burial No. 1, Appendix B) and those with jewellery alone are most often called female (See Site ID's 223, Burial No. 6; 245, Burial No. 1; 268, Burial No. 1; 277, Burial No. 1; 324, Burial No. 1; 337, Burial No. 2; 518, Burial No. 1; 580, Burial No. 1; 592, Burial No. 1, Appendix B), confirming the existence of a bias slanted heavily toward men.

Alternatively, this pattern may also be symptomatic of a preoccupation with females and the ways in which womanhood has traditionally been defined by western culture. Hence, these socially prescribed characteristics will have dictated which objects were

appropriate for a woman's use (Hjørungdal 1994; see also Chapter 1, section 1.1). Though it has been accepted that females, too, had daggers and knives, the overriding assumptions are still present, as illustrated by cases such as those at Frøslev, burial B (Aner & Kersten 1981, record number 2692; see also Site ID 410, Burial No. 1, Appendix B) and Stammershalle, burial C (Aner & Kersten 1977, record number 1464; see also Site ID 238, Burial No. 2, Appendix B), where the combination of a dagger with non-gender-specific ornaments has been categorised as female. This is further exemplified by Aner and Kersten's interpretation of the burial from Ølby, Sjælland (see Site ID 24, Burial No. 1, Appendix B), highlighted in Figure 5.3 as the only TBA Female burial in the dataset associated with a bronze sword. In addition to the sword this burial is characterised by a predominance of items traditionally considered female. Described as having served the purpose of a dagger, only the lower portion of the sword blade and hilt are present, accompanied by the remainders of a wooden sheath (Aner & Kersten 1973, record number 299). In contrast, the burial at Øster-Åbygård, Sjælland (see Site ID 258, Burial No. 1, Appendix B), containing only the upper segment of a sword blade with leather fashioned into a handle at the end, is classified as a male burial with a sword (Aner & Kersten 1977, record number 1504B). In spite of this, a grave from Haraldsted also in Sjælland (see Site ID 182, Burial No. 2 in Appendix B), has proven to be an illuminating exception to the binary criteria utilised in the assignment of sex to burials. Containing human remains as well as a bronze sword, a flint lithic tool and a chunk of pyrite, objects which are typically attributed to men, this burial was originally categorised as male (Aner & Kersten 1976, record number 1093B). However, through osteological examination the remains have since been reclassified as female (Bennike 1985: 199, Ølmoshuse; see Chapter 6, section 6.1.3 for further discussion). Therefore, although in this analysis grave B from Haraldsted was treated as having been a TBA Male (as indicated in the record's original source), in actuality there are two possible female burials in the database which contain swords.

This bias is best illustrated by Figure 5.3, in which a sword is demonstrated to be the supreme indicator of maleness, dividing the burials into those who are men and those who are not and ultimately deciding sex. According to the classification tree, belt

plates are the counterpart of the sword, definitively signifying the presence of a female. Furthermore, the classification tree reveals the one-sidedness of this system in which certain artefacts are more strongly weighted than others, whilst any additional artefacts are considered of secondary importance. This suggests that once an object determined to be a primary indicator of sex has been found, other potentially significant artefact types in a grave, what they may have meant to the individual, to the rest of the community, how the meanings of each type may have complimented the other, are disregarded. However, as illustrated by the percentage of incorrectly sexed burials in Table 5.8 of the discriminate analysis, there are inconsistencies in this methodology which render its dependability unstable where all other assignments are concerned.

Rooted within this is a further dichotomy, weapons-tools/functional/male, ornaments/decorative/female, upon which the whole system rests. In spite of this it has already been shown that even those burials identified as males may have jewellery and females, weapons (see Table 5.16). Should a burial occur with both quintessentially male and female objects, a belt plate and sword for example, the anomaly will inevitably be explained away as a grave having originally contained two individuals of opposite sex. Three such examples exist among the mortuary data compiled for my database, but were not utilised as such due to lack of presence (or mention) of skeletal remains, likely caused by poor conditions of preservation. The first site, Manderup, Frederiksborg County, Sjælland, refers to a round barrow in which a small stone cist containing a burial dated to Period III was interred. Accompanying what may have been a cremation (based upon the cist's diminutive size) were a bronze neck ring, a bronze ankle ring, a large bronze double button, a bronze knife, a bronze fibula and a bronze sword. In explanation the authors suggest this was a female burial, whilst the sword probably came from an unknown male burial, despite the lack of evidence for this proposal (Aner & Kersten 1973, record number 157). Similarly, at Tågerup, a burial mound in København County, Sjælland, a bronze neck collar, the fragments of a bronze belt plate and two bronze swords were recovered from a stone packing by a local farmer. Whilst the find circumstances make interpretation problematic, the explanation, that these artefacts

originated from three separate graves, one female and two male, is questionable (Aner & Kersten 1973, record number 478). Finally, in a gravel pit at Lejre (specific find details unknown), København County, Sjælland, a bronze belt plate, a bronze axe, a bronze sword, a fragmented bronze spiral arm ring and a bronze chisel were found. Collectively these items are referred to as male and female grave finds from Period II (Aner & Kersten 1973, record number 559 I).

Though these interpretations may be valid, the failure to consider alternative explanations concerning the gender and identities of the deceased, especially in the absence of skeletal evidence, demonstrates the extent of bias inherent in binary thinking. It also very conveniently reinforces the binary gender system created by archaeology, making the problem a cyclical one. The initial theory determines the order of the Bronze Age universe while the resultant, tidy separation of artefact types into male and female reinforces and legitimises the underlying binary approach. Thereby, the system is self perpetuating, and nowhere in this rigid relationship is there room for difference. Accordingly, only individuals conforming to westernized notions of gender construction (in which gender and sex are conflated) are recognized as being gendered, making a genderless mass of all others (appearing in what I have termed the Unknown category). The methodology itself is derived from an idealised view of gender organisation in contemporary society, though it may bear little or no resemblance to the actual social situation in Bronze Age Denmark.

The limitations of this approach are further investigated through application of the two-step clustering procedure and the introduction of an additional dataset containing mortuary remains which had been examined osteologically for sex. The first of these analyses was conducted using a dataset of burials which had been assigned a male or female sex according to perceptions regarding artefact type associations. By grouping Artefact Type by the variable ‘Material’ it was intended that relationships underlying the data, which may have been obscured by this method of assigning sex, might be exposed. Three clusters were formed—Cluster 1 which contains the greatest amount of variation and a large quantity of miscellaneous artefact types, Cluster 2 which is composed mainly of ornamental objects and Cluster 3 which

consists primarily of weaponry, tools and ornaments. Table 5.18, in which the material component of these clusters is assessed, demonstrates that how the artefact types were grouped by this analysis was largely dictated by the materials that were utilised in their manufacture. Thus, as a grouping mechanism, Material divided the artefacts into clusters according to material type; however, were it the case that Material was the singular force behind cluster formation this analysis would have generated only two clusters: a single cluster for bronze objects and a separate one for everything else. As this was not the case, it is clear that a secondary mechanism which caused a third cluster to branch off was influential in grouping the artefacts. This suggests that though there are a number of objects in each cluster which do not commonly occur together, they do occur with the same types of artefact, or rather, they share a connection with one or more artefact types and were thus grouped by association.

In contrast, when subjected to the same statistical analysis, results garnered from the smaller dataset containing osteologically examined burials showed no evidence of overlapping associations between artefact types, as the procedure generated only two clusters: one composed of bronze objects and another containing every other item in the dataset. Therefore, as overlap can be observed in the non-osteologically examined dataset which contains a wider variety of artefact types in higher quantities, comparison of the two analyses indicates that where there is greater variation, there is potential evidence for overlapping artefact associations. However, further analyses were then carried out on each dataset and compared. While the addition of ‘Period’ and ‘Region’ as supplementary grouping variables altered the outcome of the primary analysis little, the results generated by the secondary dataset were more affected. Here a third cluster containing only bronze appears to have branched off of the first two causing the outcomes of analyses from the two datasets to more closely resemble each other. Clusters 1 and 2 generated by the analysis of burials sexed by artefact associations are predominantly composed of bronze, whilst in the analysis of the dataset containing scientifically examined remains Cluster 1 chiefly consists of bronze, Cluster 2 contains all non-bronze objects and Cluster 3 holds nothing but bronze. Consequently, in grouping the data by Period and Region

as well as Material the artefacts have been subjected to secondary influences which appear to have had a greater impact on the dataset containing fewer objects.

Once again this comes back to the issue of reduced variability between the smaller dataset of osteologically examined burials and the larger dataset containing burials which were sexed by artefact associations. That the results appear quite similar once Period and Region have been introduced to the analysis as grouping variables indicates that a higher level of variability in the data is necessary to distinguish more nuanced patterning which may be reflective of social processes. However, this exercise has also demonstrated that, though as a variable material exerts a strong influence which would generally divide the artefacts into two clusters (as with the smaller dataset), a further mechanism significant enough to offset the effect of Material on cluster formation is present in the data. These aforementioned relationships in artefact type distribution are not apparent in the methods employed by the traditional binary approach; therefore, their investigation requires an approach which recognises that there were factors other than sex which determined who utilised what objects and in what combinations. Thus, this analysis demonstrates that the practice of assigning sex to a burial in accordance with contemporary biases can only ever be affective in a very limited capacity and, even then, a binary approach lacks the ability to perceive more subtle patterns which may aid archaeologists in developing a clearer picture of how these objects were employed in structuring Danish Bronze Age society and the manner in which it was organised.

How can sex or gender be determined from the mortuary items with any accuracy if the individual's biological sex, has not been established through examination of the skeletal remains? Often this is not possible due to poor preservation (Bennike 1985); however, the problems of studying gender, identity, sexuality, etc. in Bronze Age Denmark are multiplied by an unwillingness to pursue other, more informed alternatives. As demonstrated, throughout this chapter, the relationship between artefact type and a burial's sex in the case of mortuary data from Bronze Age Denmark is, in part, a fabrication of binary design. Furthermore, due to the single-minded focus of the binary approach, evidence regarding non-normative genders,

supposing they existed in Danish Bronze Age society, could very easily be overlooked, thereby leaving gaps in the archaeological record. However, as I have argued, through cross-examination with additional demonstrations of gender ideology from the archaeological record, this aspect of Bronze Age identity in Denmark may be examined anew (see Chapter 4). Continued reliance upon a system in which un-examined remains are sexed/gendered purely in deference to an approach rooted in 19th century philosophy is no longer sustainable (see Chapter 1, section 1.1) Rather, enlightened by what is now known concerning the variability of gender, its potential features, interconnectedness with other aspects of identity and organisation in prehistoric societies must be approached through the application of current gender theory and methodologies.

Chapter 6

Conclusions: New Directions in Gender Research in Archaeology of the Danish Bronze Age

From their earliest discovery, the oak coffin burials of Bronze Age Denmark were met with expectations of grandeur. Fuelled by patriotism and conceived by the consciousness of a Victorian society eager to observe its noble heritage, the coffins were presumed to contain the regal members of a proud civilisation (Moberg 1981). With their long swords, cloaks and round caps the male burials were perceived as heroic leaders. However, certain aspects of the female burials proved more of a challenge (Hjørungdal 1994). In particular, the immodesty of the string skirt and the association of females with weaponry (i.e. knives and daggers) were regarded with incredulity. These items in particular were incompatible with the idealised female character valued at the time, which viewed jewellery and long, heavy skirts as more suitable to an appropriately meek woman, whilst weapons and tools were considered the trappings of masculinity (Hjørungdal 1994).

It is this attitude which has informed the greater part of archaeological analysis concerning the Danish Bronze Age. Accordingly, Bronze Age communities in Denmark were interpreted as being composed of monogamous heteronormative couples: high ranking warriors, aristocratic chieftains and their wives. Central to this polarised perspective is the view that during this period in Danish prehistory gender organisation was synonymous with biological sex (Hjørungdal 1994) with cultural patterning falling to discrete male/female categories. Thus, informed by the binary narrative, mortuary remains, even in graves demonstrating the poorest of preservation, have consistently been classified as male or female based upon

conservative associations between artefact type and sex/gender (Hjørungdal 1994). In the preceding chapters I have challenged the traditional binary narrative perpetuated by archaeology in regard to society of the Danish Bronze Age. Through an examination of the assorted evidence for gender ideology and statistical analysis of the methods utilised in documentation of the mortuary data, assumptions and limitations which prove the binary approach to be erroneous have been exposed. Furthermore, evidence concerning the potential diversity of gender categories has been explored, demonstrating that gender ideology was of greater complexity than can be appreciated from the limited perception of a theoretical framework which rests upon oppositional constructs. Thus, this research represents an initial step toward deconstructing the polarised fiction that has ultimately been fashioned from the archaeological record of Bronze Age Denmark.

This process began in Chapter 2 with an examination of the research history and traditional perceptions of the round barrows, as well as the methods of their construction and location in the landscape. Furthermore, the different practices and interment strategies of the earlier and later periods were explored as a means of contextualising the mortuary remains in terms of their treatment and general role in Bronze Age society. Commonly considered to represent the elite of Bronze Age Denmark, only a small portion of the population qualified for entombment in these barrows. In the Early Bronze Age, inhumation of the costumed, groomed and adorned deceased in large oaken coffins indicates that the dead body was conceived of as whole, whilst the identity of the deceased was preserved and embellished (Sørensen & Rebay 2007; 2008a; 2008b). From its introduction in Period III, cremation gradually became the favoured practice, though attitudes regarding the corporality of the dead were at first maintained through the reconstitution of cremated remains upon burial (Sørensen & Rebay 2007; 2008a; 2008b). However, the consignment of cremated remains to ceramic urns eventually became the preferred method of deposition. This contrast in traditions suggests a transformation of beliefs regarding the body and identity in Danish Bronze Age society (Sørensen & Rebay 2007; 2008a; 2008b).

In Chapter 3, I reviewed the development of gender theory in archaeology from the introduction of women in the past to the recent development of third wave approaches which take a more holistic view of gender identity and its role in the constitution of the body. Through an examination of gender research pertaining to the Danish Bronze Age it was argued that the binary approach, traditionally applied in many such analyses, is only receptive to the recognition of normative constructs. Consequently, the archaeological record of Bronze Age Denmark has customarily been interpreted as an affirmation of contemporary gender ideology which, above all, values monogamous heterosexual relationships characterised by oppositional organisation and male dominance. However, more recent analyses, such as those of Marie Louise Sørensen (1997; 2000; 2006) and Janet Levy (1995; 1999; 2006), which utilise approaches implemented through current feminist scholarship, have demonstrated that reconstructions based upon the binary approach tend to overlook potential evidence of variation in gender constructs. Since it excludes the possible complexity of gender ideology which may have been an integral part of social organisation in Bronze Age Denmark, this perspective can no longer be considered compatible with sound archaeological investigation and current archaeological theory.

This potential complexity was investigated in Chapter 4, where examination of the archaeological record revealed that, although the clothing and objects in the burials are the main subject of gendered inquiry pertaining to this period in Danish prehistory, indications of gender ideology are also observable through artistic representation and traces of ritual activity (i.e. the votive deposits). Furthermore, when viewed through an approach which allows for the possibility of variation, material typically interpreted as rigidly normative demonstrates potential for the existence of non-binary gender constructs in Bronze Age Denmark. In artistic representation, figurines and rock art figures unmarked by any appearance of overtly sexual characteristics have generally been defined as male or female in line with binary research practices (Broholm 1947; Gibbs 1987; Glob 1974; Kaul 1998; Kristiansen & Larsson 2005; Mandt 1986; 1987; Randsborg 1984). However, when alternatives to the male-female dichotomy were considered it became evident that

neither the figurines described as male, nor the rock art figures classified as female possess features which would make them identifiable as a particular sex. Rather they were recognised as such because of the context in which they were viewed. For example, there are no obvious female images in the rock art; however, when an erect male appears to be engaged in coitus with a second, sexless figure, normative logic dictates that the scene must be one of heterosexual copulation between a man and his bride (Yates 2000). Similarly, only females are physically discernable among the anthropomorphic figurines but for three 'male' examples, all sexless, two of whom seem to be wearing helmets, loincloths and neck rings. Having found this, I argued that rather than subject these representations to interpretation based on faulty logic and erroneous evidence, it should be recognised that their gender neutrality was perhaps of deliberate design, intended by the artist to symbolise an ambiguous gender identity which has been unrecognised by binary analysis. Likewise, as suggested by Levy (1995; 1999; 2006), when viewed from a non-hierarchical approach, hoards which depart from the predominant combination of artefact types may provide evidence that third-genders were participants in the ritual deposition of votive offerings. From these examples I concluded that although significant variation in the composition of costume and overall physical appearance is not observable from the mortuary remains, further investigation of the archaeological record reveals potential for a greater diversity of gender identities than has traditionally been assumed. Therefore, rather than depend on a single source, it is imperative that an investigation concerning gender in the Danish Bronze Age consider multiple forms of evidence in conjunction with the osteological examination of remains whenever possible.

In Chapter 5 a quantitative approach was implemented as a means of exploring the methodology employed in the documentation of burials and its overarching effect on the mortuary record. To this end, a sample of the mortuary record, extracted from the seminal work of Ekkehard Aner and Karl Kersten (1973; 1976; 1977; 1981; 1984), was recorded in a database and interrogated through statistical analysis using SPSS. Through this process it became apparent that within the data a correlation is evident between the sex of a burial and the type of artefacts present in a grave. Furthermore,

the analyses demonstrated that this relationship is manufactured, reproduced and naturalised by means of a system which equates traditional concepts of maleness with certain artefact types and femaleness with others. In a graphic representation of this association the system's arrangement of Danish Bronze Age society into a binary organisation was pictorially depicted, with weapons/tools and grooming implements dominating the left, or male side, whilst ornaments dominate the female side, to the right.

However, in a further analysis it was also shown that, even according to the binary system's own criteria for assigning sex to burials, there are inconsistencies which cast doubt upon the validity of every other classification, as well as the overall approach. It was also established that certain artefact types represent what I have termed 'primary indicators of sex'. In accordance with traditional archaeological practices these objects, the sword and the belt plate, were deemed to be the most significant and, as such, were granted the foremost authority to determine whether a burial would be classified as male or female. Moreover, out of the entire assemblage, the sword stands apart as the item perceived to be most notable. By its mere presence this item determines whether a burial is male, thus automatically dividing men from the rest of the population and demonstrating the binary system's obsession with modern constructs of masculinity. Subsequently, in a closer examination of inconsistencies, it was demonstrated that, contrary to the traditional binary narrative, burials classified as male also included jewellery, while those classified as female also contained weapons (i.e. daggers and knives). Although this has been known for some time, the point is here reiterated so as to emphasize that the categorical divisions Weapons/Tools/Male, Jewellery/Female were introduced as a consequence of the binary approach and continue to shape analyses despite the fact that they are largely contrived. There also appears to be an archaeological bias concerning the value of gold as having been more suitable to males.

Having exposed the binary system, a two-step cluster analysis focussed upon artefact type and material was used to observe any underlying patterning of artefact types within the mortuary record free from the bias of the binary perspective imposed

through the assignment of sex. Subsequently, it was discovered that a number of artefact types demonstrated overlapping distributions through a shared connection with other objects. It was concluded that these mutual associations, evident in the presence of a third cluster purely composed of bronze objects, are indicative of artefact types perhaps linked to social variables such as age, marital status or social position, which were employed by a wider assortment of people in Danish Bronze Age society in combination with objects more pertinent to communicating individual attributes. Furthermore, the two-step cluster procedure demonstrated that a binary approach cannot attain deeper levels of analysis which are necessary if we are to access the social processes which structured Danish Bronze Age society. Ultimately, through the statistical analyses it was concluded that the integrity of the mortuary data has been compromised as a result of the binary approach implemented in the interpretation of each burial. This is most exemplary in the burial from Haraldsted (Aner & Kersten 1976, record number 1093B; see also Site ID 189, Burial No. 2, Appendix B), which will be discussed further below.

6.1 Addressing the Unaddressed

It is the case that in most known burials from the Danish Bronze Age sex determination has been, predicated upon the assumed existence of a binary gender system, assigned according to grave goods. That a binary system of gender construction may have existed in prehistoric Denmark cannot be dismissed although it has never been proven a reality. Such assumptions comprise a long tradition in archaeology (Hjørungdal 1994) best illustrated in the material from Bronze Age Denmark, where weapons and tools make the man and a woman is defined by her jewellery. However, as has been recently acknowledged within academia, the long standing practice of assigning weaponry to boys and jewellery to girls has greater potential for exposing bias within the field than illuminating cultural constructs of the past (Díaz-Andreu 2005; Eisner 1991).

Any narrative, no matter how fictitious, must be constructed upon a seemingly convincing foundation, in this case, the consolidation of sex and gender into a unified concept. A binary approach presents males as 'idealized archetypes' of gender neutrality, and females as their natural, normative counterparts (Alberti 2006: 403). In such a system there is no need to think beyond the basic classifications of 'man' and 'woman' as they are understood in contemporary society. Rather, gender, sex, identity and sexuality are presented as a tidy package; the assumption being that humans, cross-culturally and transhistorically, have always experienced their bodies and sense of self in relation to others, in a homogenous way (Meskell 1999). Though in many such cases gender identity is not the intended area of investigation, as gender plays an integral role in structuring day to day life it inadvertently becomes a part of these narratives. Thus, archaeologists who do not subscribe to what has been termed the 'feminist' view, are increasingly undiscerning in their acceptance of "...the dominant patriarchal gender ideology as universally descriptive of past gender practices" (Spencer-Wood 2007: 30), resulting in an incomplete, perfunctory survey of the past. Here the Danish Bronze Age looms as a shining example.

In assuming that mortuary objects are direct indicators of sex, concepts of gender formation and negotiation are disregarded and the possible symbolism that such items may have conveyed in the expression of identity is overlooked (Díaz-Andreu 2005; Arnold 2006). "Through identity we perceive ourselves, and others see us, as belonging to certain groups and not others" (Díaz-Andreu & Lucy 2005: 1). Manipulation of physical appearance may allow a person to convey multiple aspects of the self such as maturity, ethnicity, gender and marital status. In this way identity may be represented, functioning on both a personal and corporate level (Fisher & Dipaolo Loren 2003). Facilitated through the use of culturally specific signifiers such as accessories, permanent alteration of the body (i.e. tattooing) and/or mode of presentation (dress, hairstyle, carriage), multiple, even incongruent, identities may be simultaneously communicated, change and develop throughout the lifespan of an individual (Fisher & Dipaolo Loren 2003). Situated in the landscape and, within that, the community, through the aid of material culture various factors form a matrix in which identity is performed, understood and reciprocated by those who share certain defined characteristics. At its very core, identity is constructed by means of an

individual's lived experience and negotiated via bodily practice and the use of material culture (Fisher & Dipaolo Loren 2003).

6.1.1 Recognising Gender Variation in Prehistory

Case studies such as Hollimon's (1997) examination of Chumash mortuary data and Barbara Crass' (2001) analysis of Inuit funerary traditions warn archaeologists that objects found within a mortuary context are not simply to be read as mirrors, directly reflecting the gendered past. Similarly, they illustrate the risk in equating sex and gender as one in the same and advise against the careless treatment of grave goods as absolute indicators of sex (Crass 2001; Hollimon 1997). In Chumash society, the two-spirit or 'berdache' was a highly regarded third gender, imbued with the authority of a specialist practitioner who acted as both undertaker and administrator of mortuary ritual (Hollimon 1997). A two-spirit individual, though biologically male, was not simply a man dressed in women's clothing, but was identifiable through distinctive dress and ornamentation befitting of someone who mediated always between two worlds (earthly and spiritual, living and dead, man and woman). This suggests that recognising non-binary gender identities in prehistory may be more feasible if combinations of costume, embellishments and any additional burial goods exclusive to that gender are acknowledged and treated as distinguishing elements (Hollimon 1997). Another possible approach would be to check the skeletal remains for markers suggestive of repetitious, gender specific activity which may seem out of place. Spinal arthritis, for example, caused by lifelong use of a digging stick, is prevalent in Chumash females, but also two-spirit men, who utilise this tool in funeral preparations. Identifying third-genders, then, must be about more than a search for biological males wearing female garments (Hollimon 1997).

In the case provided by Crass (2001), Inuit gender construction is a constant process of fluctuation. Throughout life, an Inuit child may be given multiple names, each bestowed in honour of a deceased ancestor, thereby resulting in the formation of an individual constituted by numerous and fluid gender identities (Crass 2001). Consequently, whilst male and female parkas exhibit specific design features marking sex, they may be worn according to gender; hence a male may wear a

female parka and so on. The situation is complicated further by transvestism. Implemented by adults, most often a Shaman, transvestism allows the practitioner to transform his or her identity. Vacillating between male and female genders, they possess qualities characteristic of both, made visually apparent through a costume consisting of garments traditionally worn by each sex (Crass 2001). In this complex system of transformation, where women may be hunters and boys might be raised as girls, the mortuary record could not be assumed to display a fixed separation of sex-specific artefacts. Rather, some objects may be distinctive to a particular gender irrespective of an individual's sex. "In a fluid model, any so called sex specific items would be expected to be found associated with some individuals of the opposite sex" (Crass 2001: 111). In demonstrating that a rigid binary classification of gender-object association is not applicable to prehistory, Hollimon (1997; 2006) and Crass (2001) caution archaeologists against the assumptive designation of sex appropriateness to artefacts.

6.1.2 Identifying Gender Variability in Bronze Age Denmark

In aiming to constrain social variability and deviation though the compartmentalisation of all burials into either a male or female category, the limited perspective of the binary approach acts as a rigid structuring device which has forcefully altered the innate constitution of the mortuary record. By determining the sex of every burial according to the same criteria, archaeologists overlook the distinct characteristics which give each grave meaning. Additionally, the method of assigning sex to a burial based upon artefact associations, with or without the presence of observable skeletal remains, assumes that the sex of a burial will correlate with assumptions regarding the material culture. However, not all burials can be so easily rationalised. As the examples discussed below will demonstrate, there is evidence within the mortuary record of Bronze Age Denmark of social variability and, furthermore, potential for alternative interpretations pertaining to gender and identity of the deceased.

6.1.3 Gender and the Sword: Beyond the Male Warrior

In traditional mortuary analyses of the Danish Bronze Age the sword is treated as the ultimate symbol of masculinity and is, thereby, presumed to signal, merely through its presence, that a burial is male (see Figure 5.3 in section 5.1.7 of Chapter 5). However, contrary to this regulation of the data, an example from Haraldsted, Sjælland, in which it was established that the skeletal remains were those of a female, reveals that there is unexplained variation in the mortuary record of Bronze Age Denmark which cannot be resolved through the use of binary oppositions. Additional examples which have not been anthropologically sexed, but were classified as female due to the presence of ornamental objects despite the occurrence of a sword, further confirm that the illusory authority of the binary approach is not infallible. The misclassification of the female burial from Haraldsted, demonstrates the deficiency of an approach which operates according to binary principles. Having been associated with both a bronze sword and a flint lithic tool, the first and second primary indicators of maleness (see section 5.1.7 of Chapter 5), the skeletal remains in this grave were automatically categorised as Male (Aner & Kersten 1976, record number 1093B; see also Site ID 189, Burial No. 2, Appendix B). However, when osteologically examined the skeletal material was determined to be that of a female (Bennike 1985: 199, Ølmoshuse). Thus, if not for its subsequent re-examination, this burial would simply have remained the grave of another male warrior.

In view of this development, future analyses must seek out alternative means in the determination of a burial's sex, applying current techniques of osteological examination whenever possible. Certainly the anthropological sexing of remains is not without problems (see e.g. Weiss, K.M. (1972) On systematic bias in skeletal sexing. *Am Journal of Physical Anthropology* 37: 239-50); nonetheless as a tool for extrapolating information which would otherwise be indistinguishable, its value to the examination of gender and identity in prehistory cannot be underestimated. Furthermore, the debate that has been raised concerning the status of this burial as one which was originally considered male on the basis of artefact content, but has also been regarded as female purely based upon the osteology, suggests the development of perspectives which would view burials as related to, rather than

defined by their accoutrements (see Aner & Kersten 1976; Bennike 1985; Randsborg & Christensen 2006). However, to recognise that this is the burial of a biological female with objects traditionally considered male is not enough. Instead, when cross-referenced with Levy's (2006) analysis concerning atypical votive deposits or those images depicting figures of a possible ambiguous gender in the rock art and anthropomorphic figurines, burials such as this may indicate the subversion of identity or perhaps that a divergence from the traditionally favoured binary analogy exists in the archaeological record of Bronze Age Denmark.

In another example, a burial from Ølby, also in Sjælland (see Figure 4.3, Appendix A), was documented as female in accordance with the collection of artefact types in the grave which included numerous bronze tubes, a bronze spiral, a bronze neck collar, a bronze belt plate and bronze tutuli, as well as a few beads of amber and glass (Aner & Kersten 1973, record number 299; also Site ID 24, Burial No. 1, Appendix B). Among these adornment objects was a bronze sword which had been broken (with the upper portion of the blade having been removed) and placed in a wooden sheath on the abdomen near the belt plate. As binary interpretation dictates that swords were strictly associated with men, while the aforementioned ornamental items were only worn by women, rather than examine the alternatives, this grave has been read as that containing a female with jewellery and a dagger substitute (Aner & Kersten 1973, record number 299). Furthermore, the meaning of the broken sword or what its presence may indicate ideologically regarding the deceased has yet to be considered beyond the scope of oppositional constraints. Similarly, a secondary burial from Hverrhus in Viborg County, northern Jylland, containing a bronze belt plate, a bronze arm band and an intact bronze sword was classified as female (Broholm 1943, record number 730). Unsurprisingly, it has been suggested that the sword may have been substituted in place of the usual dagger or perhaps was part of a double burial containing both male and female inhumations (Randsborg & Christensen 2006: 31). However, the alternative possibility, that these probable females were intentionally equipped with a sword in death and were, perhaps, also associated with such weaponry in life, must be considered.

There are a number of examples from the ethnographic record pertaining to flexible roles for females in Native American societies, which afforded them the independence, prestige and economic success typically attained by men (Hollimon 2001; Medicine 1983). Amongst the Piegon, for example, such females were called 'manly hearted women' and were encouraged in the development of aggressive, typically male behaviours from an early age, combining both traditional women's roles with the performance of masculine pursuits (Medicine 1983: 270). Furthermore, accounts have attested to the existence of women warriors, which in some groups were understood to be females of a separate gender category similar to that of the male Berdache, as well as more traditional women who took part in warfare on occasion in various Native American cultures (Hollimon 2001; Medicine 1983). Whilst some of these women married men and bore children, those of the 'fourth gender' hunted, participated in war parties, were known to don men's clothing and only engaged in sexual activity with female partners (Hollimon 2001). It has been suggested of the mortuary record from the North American northern Plains that some female skeletal remains demonstrating signs of trauma are evidence for the participation of women in the violence associated with war (Hollimon 2001). Whether or not this was the case in Bronze Age Denmark, it must be considered that contemporary gender stereotypes linked to specific objects and activities are unlikely to be relevant in terms of social categories and practices as they were lived in Danish Bronze Age communities. As possible evidence of gender subversion or the institutionalised performance of a non-normative gender role, burials like that from Haraldsted and potentially Ølby and Hverrhus demonstrate the necessity for interpretation external to the prohibitions of a traditional binary perspective.

Although extraneous to the geographical sample region upon which my analyses were focussed, the grave from Hverrhus further demonstrates that the futile attempts of a binary model cannot account for deviation from oppositional constructs. Such failures throw into sharp relief the inability of the binary approach to cope with variation that deviates from the normative male-female categories upon which its theoretical framework rests. In each of these cases the standard reaction was to remove the possibility that biological females could have been associated with

weapons traditionally considered symbolic of powerful masculinity. By adjusting the mortuary remains, either with the addition of an illusory male (as in the double burial scenario) or through the rationalisation that the sword was, in fact, not intended to be a sword, but rather a surrogate dagger (Aner & Kersten 1973; Randsborg & Christensen 2006), the binary model is deceptively reconciled with the evidence.

In light of the amended interpretations at Haraldsted (Bennike 1985: 199, Ølmoshuse), all other burials categorised as male based solely upon the inclusion of a sword are rendered questionable and in need of revaluation. Furthermore, if archaeological practice dictates that male burials with swords represent the graves of fierce warriors, whilst in female burials with swords the weapon is considered to be a substitution or evidence of an indistinct male presence, should not these assumptions be critically examined? Traditional archaeological concepts of masculine and feminine identity and the objects associated with each, produce normative reconstructions through contemporary sex/gender stereotypes, consequently denying the prospect of social difference in the past. If we are to gain a true understanding of life in society of the Danish Bronze Age, burials such as these require investigation from the perspective of current gender theory using an approach which is receptive to diversity, beginning with an anthropological revisitation of the remains. Though, much of the skeletal material from this period in Denmark has been subject to deterioration (Bennike 1985; Broste et al. 1956), the example from Haraldsted demonstrates how this approach may prove fruitful, and underscores its absolute necessity.

6.1.4 Queering Same Sex Double Burials in the Mortuary Record of Bronze Age Denmark

In the mortuary record of Bronze Age Denmark, double burials are a rarity with same sex double burials being particularly exceptional. In one such example, a secondary burial from a round barrow in Karlstrup, København County, Sjælland, the inhumed remains of two corpses were arranged side by side, the head of each resting at opposite ends of an outsized coffin (Aner & Kersten 1973, record number 518Q; see Figure 6.1, Appendix A). Considered to be male, each individual was equipped with

a selection of particular objects. Associated with skeleton Qa were a greater number of items: a bronze sword, a bronze tutuli, a bronze double button, a small bronze spiral decorated with gold sheet metal, a bronze knife, a bronze razor, a pair of bronze tweezers, 2 bronze fish hooks, a flint lithic tool, 2 bronze fibulae and a small amber disc. Objects correlated with skeleton Qb were fewer and included a small miscellaneous piece of bronze, a bronze razor, a flint lithic tool and a bronze awl (Aner & Kersten 1973, record number 518Q; see also Site ID 374, Burial No. 4, Appendix B).

At Norby in southern Jylland, another double burial was discovered, also dating to Period II. In this instance the deceased lay alongside each other in a stone cist where a short partition of stones was assembled along half the length of the space (Aner & Kersten 1978, site record 2538A-B). In this manner, space for each corpse appears to have been defined from the upper to mid regions of the body, though a distinct connection has also been maintained in the lower area following the barrier's termination (see Figure 6.2, Appendix A). Each corpse was equipped with a bronze sword; however, in Grave A there were also a number of other items, among them what Kristian Kristiansen and Thomas Larsson have referred to as a 'ruling staff' or sceptre (2005: 276). This, and other graves of the like they interpret as the burials of chiefly rulers, their inhabitants having been twins in either a literal sense, as fraternal relations, or symbolically, having formed a close association through the governing of adjacent communities. Kristiansen and Larsson (2005) argue that a tradition of twin rulers was formed upon the basis of mythology concerning the 'Divine Twins' and 'twin symbolism' which was institutionalised through ritual practice (e.g. the deposition of paired sets of cultic gear and ceremonial performances, such as those depicted throughout the rock art) and signified by the two supposedly male figurines from Grevensvænge (see Figure 4.20A, Appendix A). Therefore, the ultimate embodiment of these deities was in the earthbound form of twin chieftains or priestly leaders, responsible for the paired deposition of cultic items with which the divine twins were associated (Kristiansen & Larsson 2005). Accordingly, as the Divine Twins possessed shamanic ability and the skill of warriors, in enacting this legend,

one ‘twin’ would have played the role of the spiritual leader, whilst the other would have travelled abroad when necessary in his position as the warrior chief.

In an example from Old Kingdom Egypt similar interpretations have been suggested regarding the tomb of Niankhkhnum and Khnumhotep dated to around 2400 B.C. (Reeder 2000). Containing numerous artistic renderings in which the two men appear to be engaged in affectionate embrace, a motif normally reserved for the portrayal of husband and wife couples, this unique discovery has been the subject of extensive debate (Reeder 2000). Explanations for the content of this tomb and its associated imagery have visualised the men therein as having been father and son, devoted friends and conjoined or fraternal twin brothers (Reeder 2000; 2008). However, Egyptologist, Greg Reeder (2000; 2008) has argued for an alternative reading of the material, proposing that in their intimacy, Niankhkhnum and Khnumhotep were not simply relatives or cherished companions, but rather, that they shared something akin to a spousal relationship. To begin with, it can be proven that Khnumhotep died first, leaving Niankhkhnum to carry on with preparation of their tomb, an unlikely possibility were they physically connected (Reeder 2008). Furthermore, throughout the representations Niankhkhnum consistently takes the role of husband whilst Khnumhotep appears to be led, gesturing or posed in such as way as to suggest his social position was similar to that ordinarily reserved for the wives in such portraits (Reeder 2000; 2008).

As there is nothing to definitively suggest that the deceased from Karlstrup or Norby were twins, or even jointly governing chiefs performing in the reconstruction of a particular folktale from Nordic religion, this interpretation, while interesting, seems more likely to be a product of the binary narrative than a plausible explanation. Whilst this theory seeks to explain the circumstances surrounding these atypical graves, as a normative account which depicts same sex double burial as having been a special funerary rite provided for deified twins who wielded joint authority in society of the Danish Bronze Age, it relies heavily on traditional binary principles without ever considering the obvious potential implications. Furthermore, it must also be considered that, as with most of the burials from this period in Denmark,

these too were categorised as male in keeping with traditional perceptions regarding weaponry and tools. As with the example from Old Kingdom Egypt, the true nature of the relationship between the deceased in each of these joint burials cannot be identified through a theoretical approach which persists in the denial of difference. In his analysis of imagery from the tomb of Niankhkhnum and Khnumhotep, Reeder (2000; 2008) points out that had the deceased been male and female, and represented in the same manner, archaeological interpretation would consider them husband and wife. This also seems true of the Danish Bronze Age where even a male and female interred separately in the same barrow are identified as having been partners in a hetero-normative marriage (e.g. Borum Eshøj). From the outset, the practice of same sex double burial is unusual in Bronze Age Denmark. Why, then, should the social processes which produced these graves be interpreted within the confines of a heteronormative framework?

6.1.5 Challenging Normativity in the Interpretation of Gender and Mortuary Context

Once thought to be a controversial object owing to its distribution amongst burials irrespective of sex/gender (Hjørundal 1994), the dagger has more recently been observed as a possible contributor to the marking out of gender identity in a funerary context (Bergebrant 2007). While this item occurs in both male and female graves it has been noted that in the mortuary record of Sjælland the dagger is placed differently in relationship to the body of each (Bergebrant 2007: 68). In female burials, the dagger appears situated on the torso, often in association with a belt plate. In the case of male burials, placement of the dagger is parallel to the left of the body, at times in conjunction with a sword, their hilts resting at shoulder level, both blades pointing toward the feet. However, at Jægersborg Hegn, København County, Sjælland, (Aner & Kersten 1973, record number 417, see also Site ID 12, Burial No. 1, Appendix B) in a burial categorised as male, amongst other objects enclosed in the grave, a gold disc and sword were found resting together upon the abdomen of the deceased (see Figure 6.3, Appendix A). In this instance, the sex of the burial was determined in relation to the artefact content of the grave, as will have been the

situation in most of the burials from which information was gathered regarding the placement of objects relative to the body.

Were it the case that this arrangement of mortuary items in male and female graves coincided with osteologically examined remains, a sword and gold disc arranged on a male body in a manner comparable to the dagger and belt plate in female burials would suggest potentially gendered meanings. Furthermore, it appears that the gold disc was not attached to the body. Rather, it was positioned on top of the mid-section overlapping the sword, seemingly intended to convey a specific message (Bergebrant 2007: 68). Pertaining to this burial, it has been suggested that the gold disc represents 'the day side of the sun' while, in contrast, the bronze belt plates worn by females would have symbolised the 'the night side of the sun' (Kristiansen & Larsson 2005: 296). This idea is modelled upon the Trundholm Chariot (Figure 6.4, Appendix A) interpreted as having been representational of the sun's journey through the sky. Accordingly, the anthropomorphic figurine of a horse appears to be pulling a chassis containing two bronze discs that are fused together, one of which is gold plated. However, this interpretation does not account for the distinctiveness of the burial from Jægersborg Hegn in terms of the disc or its relationship to the sword and their placement on the body. Though the gold disc is not exactly comparable to a belt plate in terms of its material, dimensions or decorative motifs, its similarity and placement on the body in alignment with the sword is significant. Appreciation of such implications is beyond a binary approach and, as such, this burial was simply described as having been male at the time of its documentation (Aner & Kersten 1973, site record 417), and has since been portrayed as a chieftain who lived among the powerful elite of Bronze Age Denmark (Kristiansen & Larsson 2005). Nevertheless, when examined from a non-binary perspective, it may be that the resemblance between the disc and belt plate and the symbolism of their parallel juxtaposition are indicative of social variation, perhaps subverting traditional perceptions regarding gender organisation in the Danish Bronze Age.

6.1.6 Unmasking Diversity in Bronze Age Denmark

Each of the examples outlined above represents a burial which, through the misleading process of binary classification, has been oversimplified. Due to the practice of categorising burials as either male or female in line with artefact distribution and contemporary gender stereotypes, the individual character of each grave is diminished, consequently masking any signs of diversity which may appear in the mortuary record. Traditionally these interpretations have been regarded as an accurate reflection of gender ideology and social organisation in the Danish Bronze Age. As such they have considerably influenced archaeological analyses, producing a society whose relationships, principles and experiences closely mirror those valued by contemporary western culture. In considering the organisational tenets of the binary approach it is apparent that each of the preceding instances described would traditionally be perceived as atypical. Consequently, some of these burials have become the subject of fantastical narratives which, by their design, seem to realign the more unusual graves with associations permitted by a normative perspective. However, these burials also illustrate the potential degree of gender variability which may have existed in the communities of Bronze Age Denmark. Therefore, the possibility that non-binary gender constructs were a recognised facet of social organisation in Danish prehistory must be considered. Furthermore, when viewed through an interpretive framework which is receptive to variation and informed by current approaches to gender theory, rather than altering the evidence to accommodate contemporary gender stereotypes, the social implications underlying such burials may become evident.

6.2 Alternative Approaches to the Archaeological Investigation of Gender in the Danish Bronze Age

The aim of this dissertation has been to expose the limitations of the binary approach and to demonstrate the effect of its biased interpretation upon the archaeological record of Bronze Age Denmark. It has also been argued that the application of this perspective over alternatives more appropriate to the nature of the data cannot

continue to be justified. Instead, archaeology must look to other approaches for the investigation of gender and social organisation that are motivated by the material in each context and informed by legitimate scientific inquiry. For instance, regarding the analysis of human remains and associated materials from the mortuary record, traditional interpretations concerning gender identity in prehistoric society have disregarded the skeletal material in favour of artefact linked assumptions. However, what may be learned about gender construction and practices from osteological examination in relation to material culture and costume associated with the deceased is of far greater value to the development of archaeological research. Moreover, to decipher the social forces responsible for the formation of the archaeological record, approaches relevant to the variation observable in cultural traces throughout the Danish Bronze Age (e.g. the potential for gender ambiguity as outlined pertaining to images in the rock art and anthropomorphic figurines) must be thoroughly and rigorously explored.

In regard to social dimensions discernable through the mortuary record, it appears that there may have been a connection between age and costume, pertaining to particular aspects of material culture which, in their function as accessories, were linked to the display of identity. Observations based on correlations between material culture and osteologically examined skeletal remains from the mortuary record suggest that daggers and swords were bestowed upon each person at a specific stage of physical maturity (Bergebrant 2007; Randsborg 2006). Furthermore, it seems that, whilst females retained the objects which indicated their social position throughout life, upon reaching a more advanced age, males relinquished the accoutrements of their youth, thus seeming to impart a more austere demeanour (Bergebrant 2007). This was perhaps due in part to a decline of social status amongst males, prompted by the development of physical transformations associated with old age (Bergebrant 2007). However, it seems equally likely that physiological changes which occur throughout the lifecycle may have been accompanied by variation in gender identity. Consequently, certain objects were perceived as having been appropriate for use during particular stages of a person's lifelong development and were, thus employed in the institutionalised construction and performance of identity. Though research has

been established concerning the role of costume and material culture in visual communication of the self in prehistoric society (see, for example Cleland et al 2005a; Sofaer Derevenski 2000b; Stevens 2007; Sørensen 1991; 1997; 2000; 2006), this aspect of dress, gender and identity has been little explored in regard to the Danish Bronze Age and may prove to be a profitable way forward for future investigations.

Similarly, through examination of the mortuary record it is evident that not every female was equipped with a dagger nor every male furnished with a sword (see, for example, section 5.1.10 and Figure 5.3 of Chapter 5). Indeed, some burials categorised as male contain no weaponry at all (Bergebrant 2007). Rather than focus upon the traditional heteronormative image of Bronze Age men as aggressively masculine warriors, it must be considered that society during this period in Denmark was not so one dimensional. Furthermore, the reasons why some women would have been equipped with daggers/knives while others were not must be investigated. For instance, it should be considered that the possession of or disassociation from these objects in a mortuary context may have been intended to indicate social difference, perhaps related to the articulation of gender. Of course, these observations are not testable without the benefit of anthropological analysis concerning the skeletal remains from such graves. However, examination of these burials could potentially lead to advances in the development of archaeological awareness regarding the role of material culture in the construction and performance of gender identity in communities of the Danish Bronze Age.

Another approach which could be beneficial in elucidating gender ideology is offered by Levy (1995; 1999; 2006). In Levy's proposed model of social organisation in the Danish Bronze Age, heterarchy is suggested as an alternative to the traditional use of hierarchical reconstructions. Heterarchy considers those lateral forces which transect the vertical ranking of a hierarchical system thereby enabling examination of deeper social complexities which may have affected community structure and the development of personal associations (Levy 1995; 1999; 2006). Dependant upon regional variation, which promotes different gender systems rather than the

stratification of a centralised society, a heterarchical perspective is open to the recognition of variability through time, region and the lifecycle. Just as there are numerous crosscutting factors which may affect the overall structure and operation of a society, as a theoretical model, heterarchy considers that there are also a multiplicity of intersecting variables which influence the formation of identity (Levy 1995; 1999; 2006). Thus shaped by converging elements such as gender, age and social position, identity is perceived as flexible. In her examination of votive deposits from the later Bronze Age in Denmark, Levy (2006) demonstrates how this perspective may be applied toward interpretation of the archaeological record and its potential for revealing evidence of non-normative behaviour, which may indicate the existence of gender variation. From this example it is evident that the concept of heterarchy should be explored as an alternative approach which may be of use in interpreting other forms of evidence pertaining to gender ideology in the Danish Bronze Age.

Future development regarding the study of gender in Bronze Age Denmark may also be found in the anthropological examination of cremated remains. Although inhumed remains from the earlier period are considered to be of limited value, there has been greater success with those pertaining to the later Bronze Age. Explanation for the preservation of cremated bone, in contrast to the degradation of non-cremated remains, is directly related to the practice employed in treatment of the corpse (Bennike 1985). Through the action of the fire "...the actual crystalline structure of the bone is altered by burning, thus rendering it more resistant to the destructive agencies of the soil" (Bennike 1985: 25). An example of this can be observed in the burial from Egtved, in which an adult inhumation and the cremated remains of a child were interred together in the same coffin. Whilst the former has been very badly disintegrated, the cremated remains were preserved well enough to enable an age estimation of roughly 5 to 7 years at the time of death (Bennike 1985: 25). Examples of research related to this geographical region in which sex was successfully determined through the osteological examination of cremated remains from the later Bronze Age can be found in Skåne, Sweden (Håkansson 1985;

Jennbert 1993; Olaussen 1986; Widholm 1973) and at Schleswig (Nortman et al. 1979) and Schleswig-Holstein (Kühl 1966) in northern Germany.

Pertaining to Denmark, the practice of anthropologically sexing cremated bone has been applied in the investigation of remains from the outsized Late Bronze Age round barrow Lusehøj (Tkocz & Jensen 1984). In another instance, the anthropological sexing of cremated remains from Lustrupsholm, a flat grave cemetery in Ribe County, southwest Jylland led to the suggestion that this unusual burial site may have served a specialised purpose (Feveile & Bennike 2002). From the 23 graves with identifiable remains, 24 individuals were distinguished: 12 having been adults over the age of 20; of these, 3 were sexed as male and 6 as female. In addition there were also 5 'young adults' aged roughly between 20 and 35 years, a 'young person' of 12 to 20 years, a singular 'child' not yet 6 and 5 'infants' under the age of one (Feveile & Bennike 2002). As to the infants, one had been interred together with a female of 35 years or more as either a foetus or new born in the only double grave to have been discovered at the cemetery. As a flat cemetery in Bronze Age Denmark seemingly populated primarily by the graves of females and children this site is notable for its atypical composition (Feveile & Bennike 2002). Furthermore, those objects interred with the remains were modest and of a non-gender specific nature. From this it has been proposed that those buried at Lustrupsholm may have constituted a "...specific social section of the population" (Feveile & Bennike 2002: 141), or that this was perhaps a cemetery mainly dedicated to the burial of women and children. More recently, in their work on changing mortuary practices in Bronze Age Europe, Marie Louise Sørensen and Katharina Rebay (2007; 2008a; 2008b) have investigated cremation as reflective of a transformation in the way identity and the corporeal body were perceived by prehistoric society. Through the anthropological examination of cremated remains, an analysis of sex in relation to burial goods and overall composition of the mortuary population could further enhance archaeological understanding pertaining to gender, identity and embodiment as perceived in the later Danish Bronze Age.

Regarding the quantitative analyses, although in this thesis the primary purpose of the database and associated statistics was to reveal biases in the mortuary record resulting from the binary approach, were it to be augmented, the data could be explored further from a number of angles. For example, were the database expanded to include mortuary data from over the whole of Denmark, the information could be analysed statistically in order to detect variation in the results. Currently the primary dataset includes a representative sample of the mortuary record from the southernmost region of Jylland as well as the islands of, Fyn, Lolland, Sjælland and Bornholm (Aner & Kersten 1973; 1976; 1977; 1981; 1984). Of the site catalogues in which these records are documented the most recent volume to be published was in 1984. However, supplementary volumes were published throughout the eighties and into the nineties with additional publications forthcoming. With the inclusion of further, more recently published data, comparisons might be made toward the assessment of diachronic development regarding attitudes toward gender and the methods used to determine sex in the documentation of mortuary remains. Furthermore, if a greater quantity of anthropologically sexed remains were figured into the analyses these burials could be employed in the creation of a model which would test the sex assignments of the remaining graves for accuracy whilst also, perhaps, indicating the most likely classification for those burials entered into the database as Unknown. Although the 77 artefact records contained in the secondary dataset composed of osteologically examined remains were sufficient to enable the execution of a two step cluster procedure (see Chapter 5, section 5.1.11), more data would be required in order to construct a model which would facilitate accurate classification of those burials to which sex was assigned in accordance with the distribution of artefact types. Thus, those cases in which sex was determined with deference to the types of artefact present in a grave would be weighted against anthropologically examined burials. Through this process more appropriate sex categories could be assigned to those burials found to be incompatible with their previous classifications with the aim of using these refurbished records to re-examine relationships within the data. This would, of course, require that a greater number of burials be examined anthropologically; however, to do so could potentially aid in

revaluation of the numerous graves compromised as a consequence of the binary perspective employed in their documentation.

Each of the approaches and research objectives outlined above is suggested as a viable alternative to the short-sightedness of the binary narrative which may enable a broader exploration of the potential gender variability and social diversity that structured society in the Bronze Age of Denmark. Although employed elsewhere (see Bolger 2003; Gilchrist 1999; 2000; Meskell 1999; 2000a; Meskell & Joyce 2003; Sofaer 1997; 2004; Sørensen 2004b for examples) examination of gender and the life cycle has been little considered in research pertaining to the Danish Bronze Age. Correlations between some items of material culture and physical maturity have been observed in the mortuary record (Bergebrant 2007; Randsborg & Christensen 2006), suggesting that certain objects were conferred or relinquished at the passage of particular stages in an individual's life. Furthermore, while traditional interpretations concerning possible associations between gender identity and material culture have often placed the greatest emphasis upon weaponry in social analyses, most especially the sword, not every burial defined as male contains such items. Similarly, while some burials classified as female are associated with daggers/knives, many others are not. These observations must be investigated for further social meaning outside of archaeology's traditional occupation with warriorhood and masculinity. Investigation of the connection between gender and age can be of great value in informing archaeological interpretation of the processes through which gender was constructed in prehistoric society. In addition, certain aspects of material culture which played a role in the performance and embodiment of gender throughout the life course must be investigated from this perspective. In this manner, archaeological analysis may approach gender as it was produced and lived in the Danish Bronze Age, as an element entwined with a myriad of other components in the complex formation of identity.

Following Levy's (1995; 1999; 2006) analysis of Bronze Age Denmark, which perceives the mechanisms of communal organisation as having operated in line with a more hetererarchical structure, the principles that function in a hierarchical model

are incapable of recognising the social complexity associated with the reproduction of gender variation. Therefore, any traces of gender variability which may have existed in society of the Danish Bronze Age could not be discerned through examination of the archaeological record using a hierarchical approach. Because a heterarchical model views hierarchical aspects of social organisation as having been crosscut and, subsequently, shaped by numerous other factors operating in prehistoric communities, it is by design more susceptible to both the production and recognition of diversity. For this reason, replacement of the traditionally employed depiction of Bronze Age Denmark as a hierarchical society of heteronormative families governed by warrior elites with a more credible theoretical model which is receptive to difference is essential to the development of archaeological knowledge concerning this period in Danish prehistory.

With regard to anthropological examination, the examples from Lusehøj (Tkocz & Jensen 1984) and Lustrupsholm (Feville & Bennike 2002) confirm that while it has not often been possible to determine the sex of inhumed remains due to poor preservation, the possibility is greater with regard to cremated bone. Nevertheless, while much of the skeletal material from the mortuary record of Early Bronze Age Denmark is too poorly preserved to be osteologically examined for sex, the burial from Haraldsted (Aner & Kersten 1976, record number 1093B; Bennike 1985: 199, Ølmoshuse) demonstrates that this is certainly not the case overall. In other words, some of the remains are worth the endeavour of anthropological examination. However, rather than pursue this objective, the limited sample of preserved remains which would enable osteological analysis has been regarded with little interest by the archaeological community where this period in Danish Prehistory is concerned. Instead, the traditional dependence upon assumptions surrounding artefacts has continued as the preferred method for determining sex, buttressed by a false security in the familiar binary approach.

Research concerning the osteological examination of remains, such as the work of Pia Bennike (1985) and that by Kurt Bröste and Jørgen Balslev Jørgensen (1956) has made some minor progress in this direction. However, such analyses must continue

to be undertaken in greater frequency and depth. A further advantage of additional osteological examination regarding burials previously viewed as insignificant by the binary perspective would be the possible clarifying effect that such information could produce through the statistical analyses. Although many burials would be impervious to examination due to poor preservation, with a greater sample of osteologically sexed remains, alternative representations of gender and society in the Danish Bronze Age may be obtained and tested via statistical investigation of the mortuary record.

6.3 Gender Variability: Final Thoughts

Gender is a fundamental structuring force in society. Culturally constructed and socially maintained, it is highly changeable in nature, defines relationships and gives the world meaning. As a concept, gender imposes social structure and organisation, informing aspects of daily life such as dress, cosmology, diet, activity and death. For each individual gender forms a part of identity, pervading self awareness, binding a community and shaping interaction (Sørensen 2000). In this sense it is an integral element of archaeological inquiry without which no feature of prehistoric existence could be understood. Archaeologists have long posed the wrong questions, 'however implicit' when examining social structure and gender organisation in the past (Pyburn 2004: 29). In regard to Bronze Age Denmark, rather than enquiring as to whether society was organised in accordance with a hierarchical binary gender system, scholars have, in a manner of speaking, placed the cart before the horse, querying the data from a perspective which presupposes the existence of such an arrangement. Instead, the tenets of sound archaeological practice dictate that potential evidence of gendered behaviour be examined, not through the lens of an assumed binary system, but rather from a perspective open to new possibilities (Pyburn 2004). Limited research models have greater potential to essentialise prehistory than to identify complexity (Brumfiel & Robin 2008; Pate 2004; Pyburn 2004; Weglian 2001). In order to enable impartial investigation of gender in prehistoric cultures, archaeologists must identify and deconstruct assumptions which

were formerly held, as well as those currently employed and, thereby, influential in archaeological reconstructions of the past (Pate 2004). To do this, an exploration of gender from the perspective of potential multiplicity as a means of critically analysing one-dimensional portrayals of prehistoric societies is essential (Pate 2004).

If archaeology is ever going to be successful in forming an accurate picture of prehistoric society, archaeologists need to revise long-established notions concerning sex and gender which overlook potential variability and fail to account for deviation in the mortuary record (Weglian 2001). Throughout this analysis the term "normative" has been employed; however, this description was applied in reference to values and interpretations endorsed by the traditional binary approach, rather than identities and behaviours sanctioned by Danish Bronze Age society. As argued by Hollimon (2006: 436), non-binary gender identities can be equally as normative as the male and female categories recognised in contemporary western systems of gender organisation. Additionally, in an examination of archaeological approaches to the study of gender and sexuality, Barbara Voss (2004) contends that one must never assume that a divergence from the heteronormative behaviours valued by contemporary Western society would have been perceived as deviant in the past. Rather, she states that the notion of heterosexuality as the most highly valued, normal way of being is historically specific and that "…transgendered or non-heterosexual sexualities can be 'normative' within specific cultural contexts" (Voss 2004: 67). Therefore, such non-normative identities and practices may have been sanctioned in certain cultures, thus contributing to regulation of socially prescribed gender identities and sexual behaviours (Voss 2004) in the past. Furthermore, usage of the phrase 'gender variation' and other such terms as they appear in this dissertation, does not solely refer to potential non-binary gender identities, but also applies to the alteration or adjustment in gender identity that an individual may experience as a process, taking place throughout the life course (see Chapter 3, section 3.1.8). This aspect of social organisation is virtually inaccessible to the binary approach which, however inadvertently, has whittled gender identity down to a static alignment with biological sex. Thus, by revaluating the archaeological data "…we can begin to look at prehistory for evidence of other ways of framing gender and we can insist that

essentialism is wrong. Perhaps that way we can begin to ask questions that will give more objective, more interesting, and more useful answers" (Pyburn 2004: 38).
Archaeologists assigning sex to a burial dependant only upon the presence of material culture, do so with the single minded belief that biological sex of the individual at the time of death was the dominant factor dictating the inclusion of specific artefact types (Eisner 1991; Weglian 2001). When the sex of a burial is declared to be male or female according to goods associated with a grave, the archaeologist is, in point of fact, sexing the objects with which human remains just happen to be lying. In this sense, mortuary items are infused with masculine or feminine attributes, thereby imbuing them with supreme authority to characterise the sex/gender of the deceased (Weglian 2001). The objects connote sex regardless of their provenience, distorting what may be read from the actual picture; assuming a binary gender ideology means that atypical burials go overlooked.

The greatest strength of this classification system lies in its longevity through which archaeology has been anchored to the traditional biases of patriarchal science, its greatest aim to fit every burial possible into the accepted bipolar model of male-female. The underlying success of this system is its ability to masquerade as truth, suggesting that the gendering of prehistory is unproblematic because, ideologically, sex and gender are really the same thing anyway (Hjørungdal 1994). Consequently, any disparate or 'unknown' burials not conforming to the desired pattern have been amalgamated into a faceless, superfluous mass (Hjørungdal 1994). With unspoken certainty these individuals are judged as abnormal, and hence irrelevant to archaeological analysis. Through this process many of prehistory's people have been dispossessed of their gender and, ultimately, denied an identity. Only those who seemingly conformed to the 'natural' order and were buried in a more elaborate manner bound to command attention were recognised as sexed/gendered individuals (Hjørungdal 1994).

By determining sex in this way, traditional, outmoded academic approaches are forcing the data to conform to our own perceptions of gender as informed by contemporary culture. However, since the adoption of such practices, originally

employed not for lack of care, but out of the failure of archaeologists to recognise the biases instilled by their own limited cultural experiences, archaeological methods have vastly improved, informing research goals and shaping theoretical models (Weglian 2001). Unless the full breadth of gender variation in antiquity is explored, the operating forces which underlie and shape past societies will remain elusive (Hollimon 1997). Through improved techniques it has become apparent that in the absence of sufficient evidence which would support the existence of a gendered dichotomy all relevant possibilities must be considered (Doucette 2001), including the prospect that gender was more varied in prehistoric Danish society than has traditionally been portrayed in archaeological narratives. If an archaeologically informed understanding of the lived experience of prehistoric peoples is ever to be developed, concepts of gender and identity must be investigated free from the distorting weight of unexamined assumptions. The identification of evidence for gender variation within the archaeological record is a difficult undertaking which the discipline may not ever definitively realise. In spite of this, the potential must be given serious thought. Archaeology must approach the investigation of gender in past societies from a perspective open to diversity. It may be that binary cultures did exist and to assume otherwise would be misleading. However, the evidence must point in that direction, for we learn nothing of prehistory, rather only of ourselves, by beginning with the most finite of possibilities.

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Appendix A

Chapter 2

Chronological Period	Relative Chronology	Absolute Chronology	Funerary Ritual
Early Neolithic	Funnel Beaker Culture	*c.* 4200-3200 BC	Corporate ideology exhibited by communal burial in chambered megalithic long barrows.
Middle Neolithic A		*c.* 3200-2800 BC	
Middle Neolithic B	Single Grave Culture	*c.* 2800-2350 BC	Single inhumation Male graves dominate. Battle axes are present in single oak coffin graves of MN B, but are replaced by daggers as symbols of import in LN when a variety of burial methods-interments in flat graves, oak coffins, passage graves or stone cists-are represented.
Late Neolithic	Bell Beaker Culture/ Dagger Period	*c.* 2350-1700 BC	
Early Bronze Age	Period I	*c.* 1800-1500 BC	Predominance of male graves, rarely containing bronze, with a variety of burial methods (as above) appearing.
	Period II	*c.* 1500-1300 BC	Single inhumation of high ranking males (and to a lesser extent) females in oak coffin graves accompanied by bronze objects beneath large round barrows. A large portion of the population is unrepresented, children rarely appear.
	Period III	*c.* 1300-1100 BC	
Late Bronze Age	Period IV	*c.* 1100-900 BC	Urned cremations with little bronze (mortuary goods become sparse) deposited secondarily in previously existing barrows or in newly built miniature mounds.
	Period V	*c.* 900-700 BC	
	Period VI	*c.* 700-500 BC	
Early Iron Age	Pre-Roman	*c.* 500 BC-750 AD	Simple cremation graves with few material inclusions interred in urn fields.

Table 2.1: Chronology of Danish Prehistory and corresponding funerary customs with Montelian periodisation for the Bronze Age highlighted in grey (Coles 2000; Montelius 1884; Sarauw 2007).

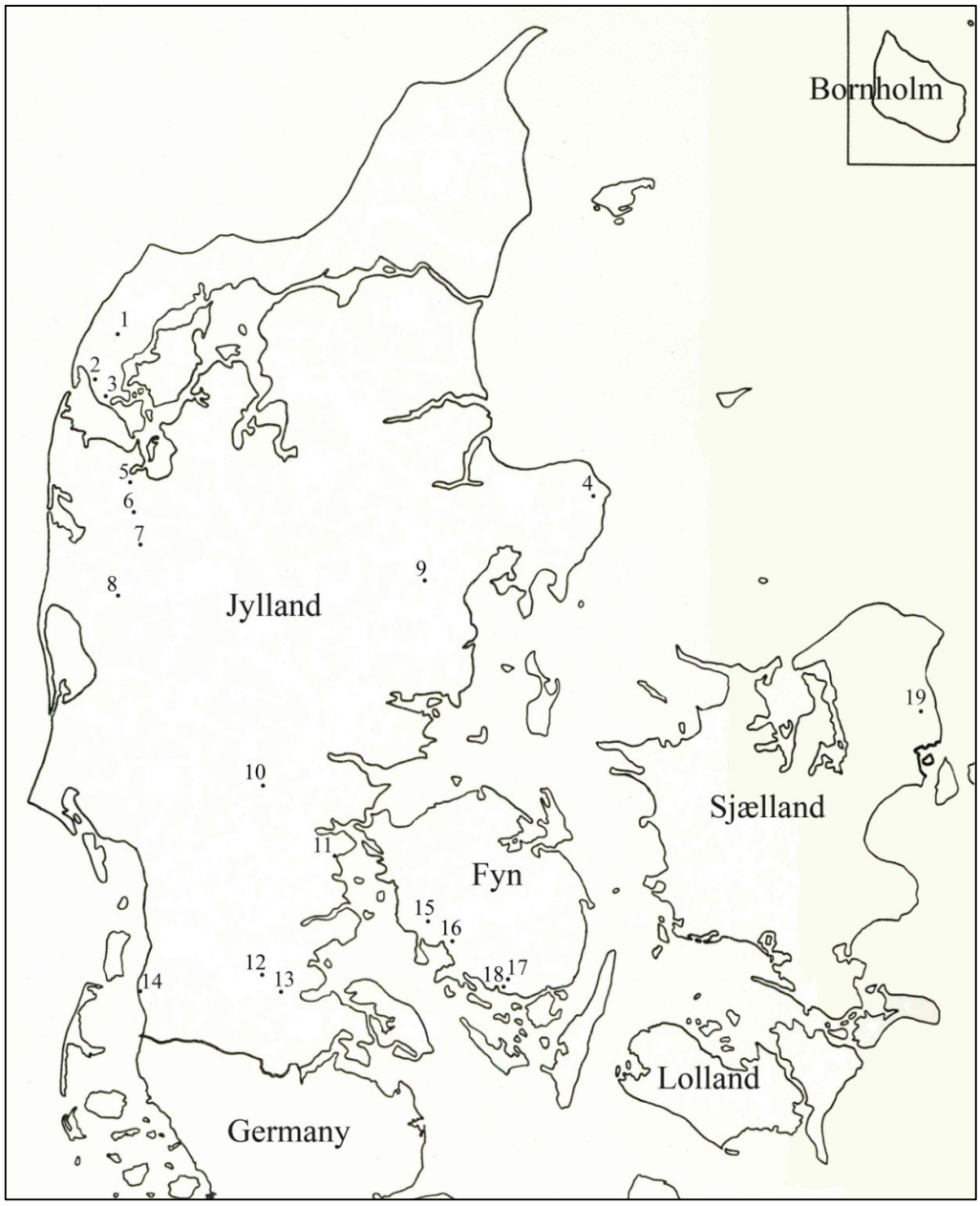


Figure 2.1: Map of Denmark showing the sites referred to in Chapter 2: Damsgård (1); Gramstrup I (2); Grydehøj (3); Store Orenhø j (4); Nr. Dalgård Syd (5); Krunderup (6); Ny Sognstrup (7); Muldbjerg (8); Borum Eshø j (9); Egtved (10); Trappendal (11); Skrydstrup (12); Hjordkær (13); Hjerpsted (14); Lusehø j (15); Hastrup (16); Kuskens Hø j (17); Hannemose (18); Hvidegård (19) (base map after Mathiassen 1953: 105).

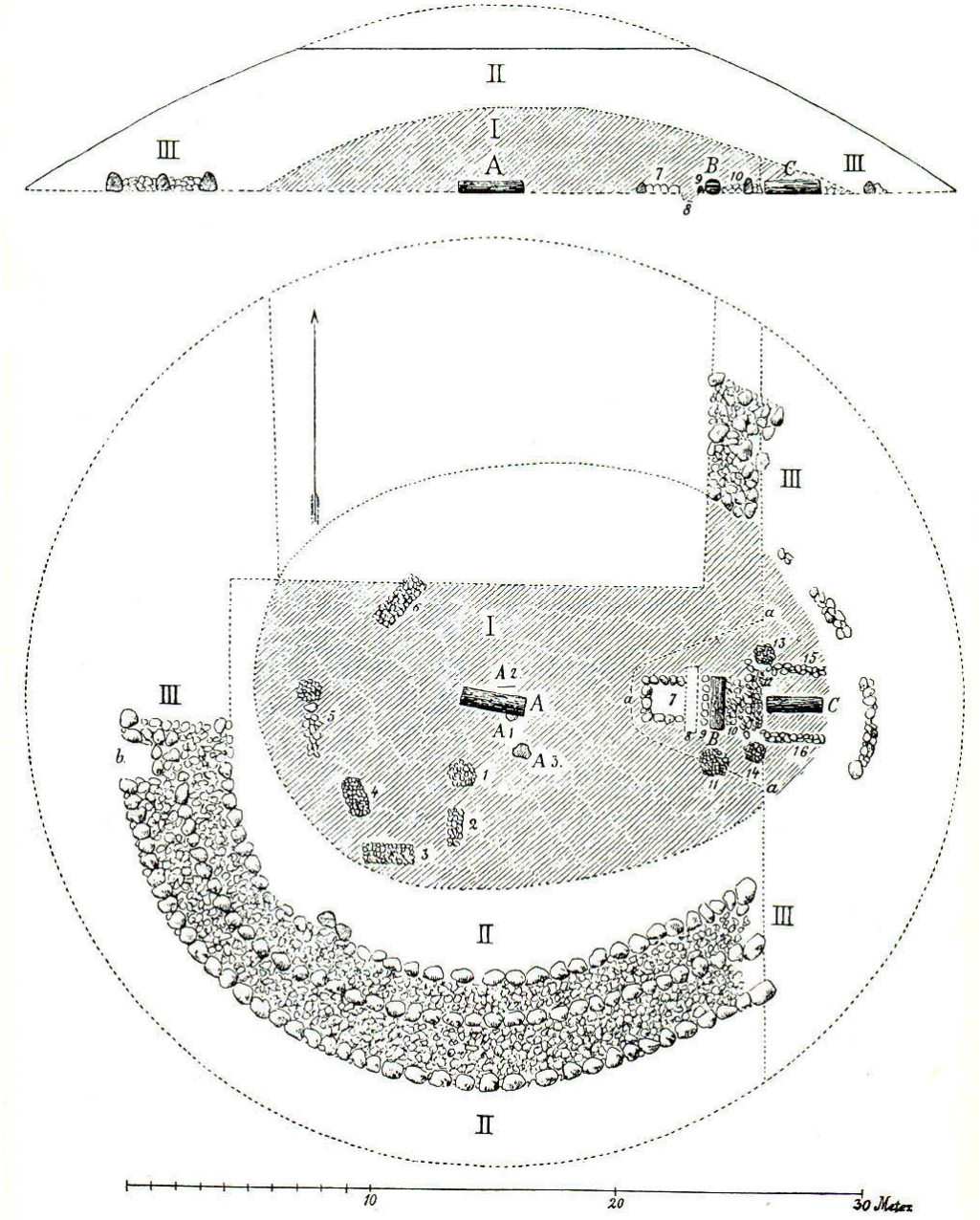


Figure 2.2: Ground plan of Borum Eshøj illustrating the phases of construction (after Glob 1974: 39).

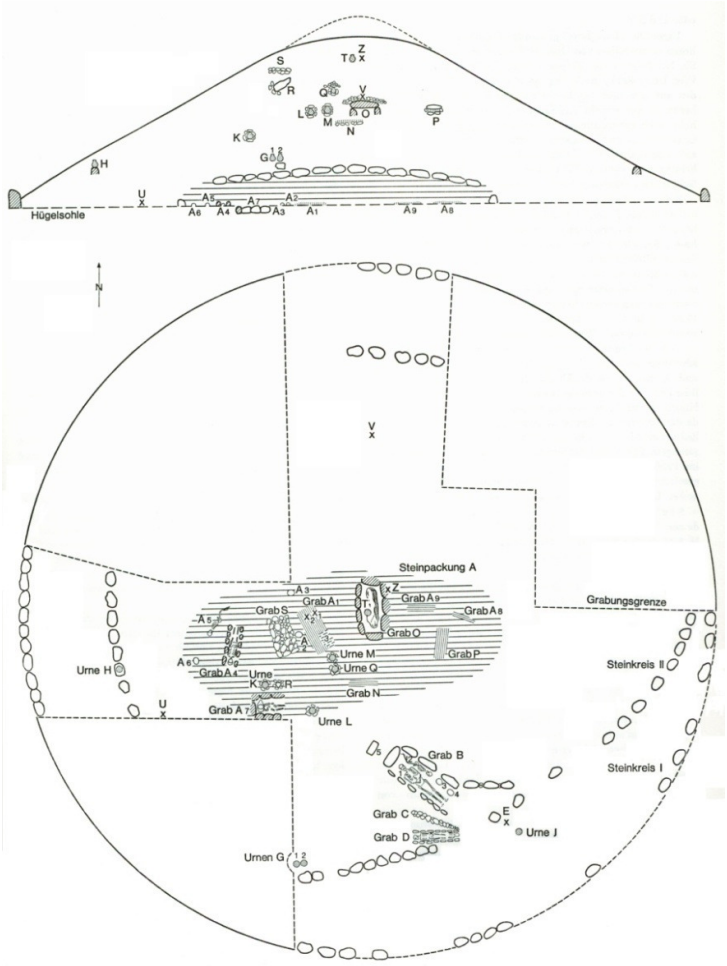


Figure 2.3: Ground plan of the round barrow from Ubby, Holbæk County, Sjælland, showing the multiple burials which were interred throughout the mound's use (after Aner & Kersten 1976: 13)

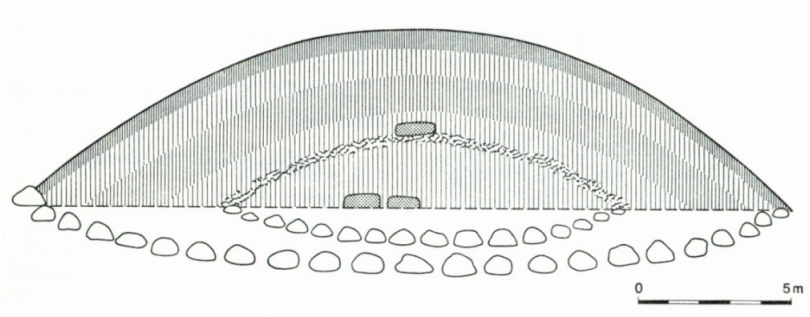


Figure2.4: Illustration of the mound at Kjærby, Haderslev County, Jylland, in cross-section displaying the central mound and a double ring of curb stones at the base (after Aner & Kersten 1984: 6).

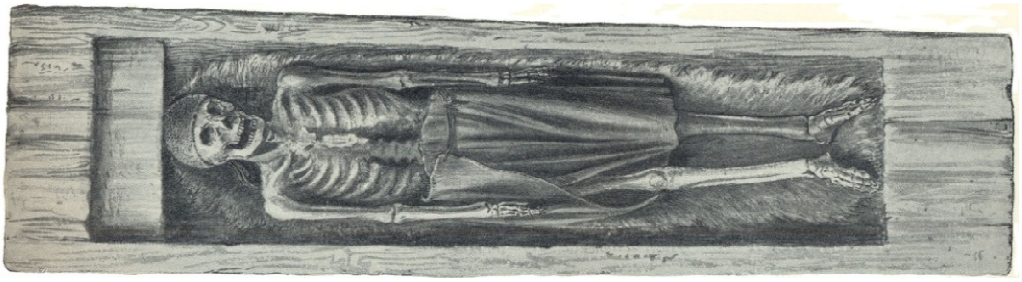


Figure 2.5: Coffin burial A from Borum Eshøj (after Broholm & Hald 1940: 49, watercolour by Magnus Petersen).

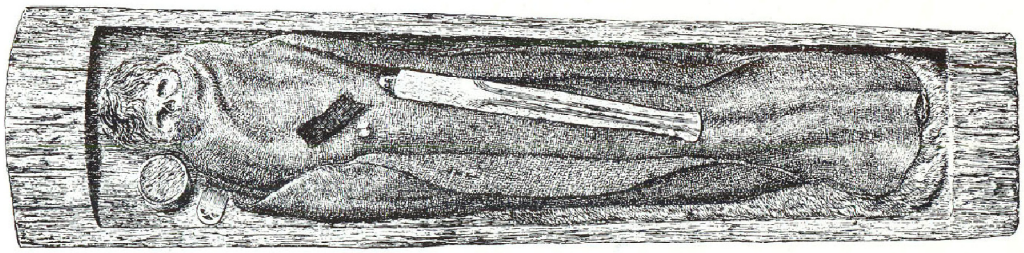


Figure 2.6: Coffin burial B from Borum Eshøj (after Glob 1974: 41, drawing by V. Boye)

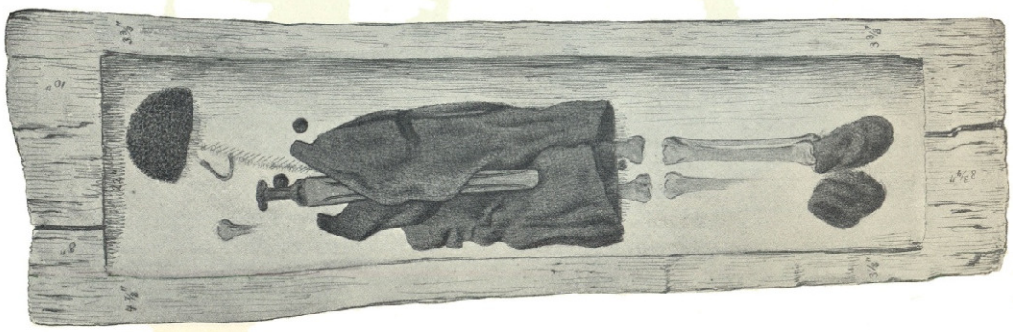


Figure 2.7: Coffin burial from Muldbjerg (after Broholm & Hald 1940: 16, watercolour by A.P. Madsen).

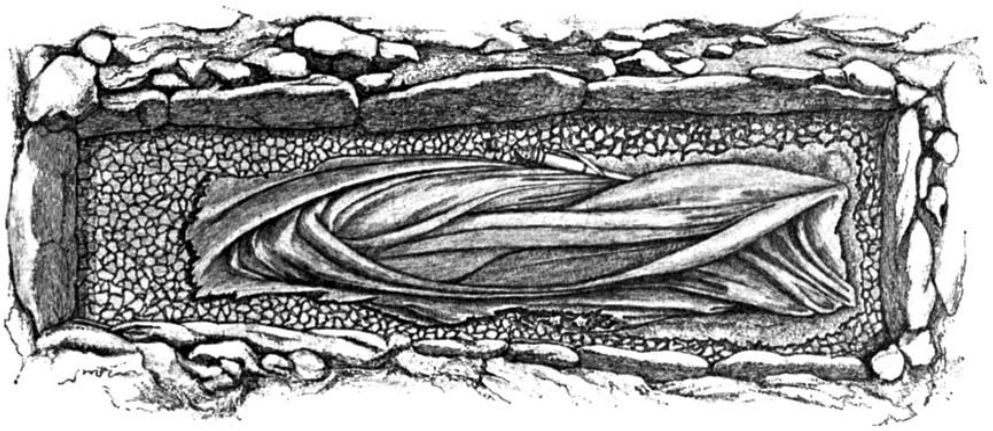


Figure 2.8: The cremation burial from Hvidegård, Sjælland, arranged in a stone cist of human length with clothing and artefacts in the manner of an inhumation (after Aner & Kersten 1973: 144).

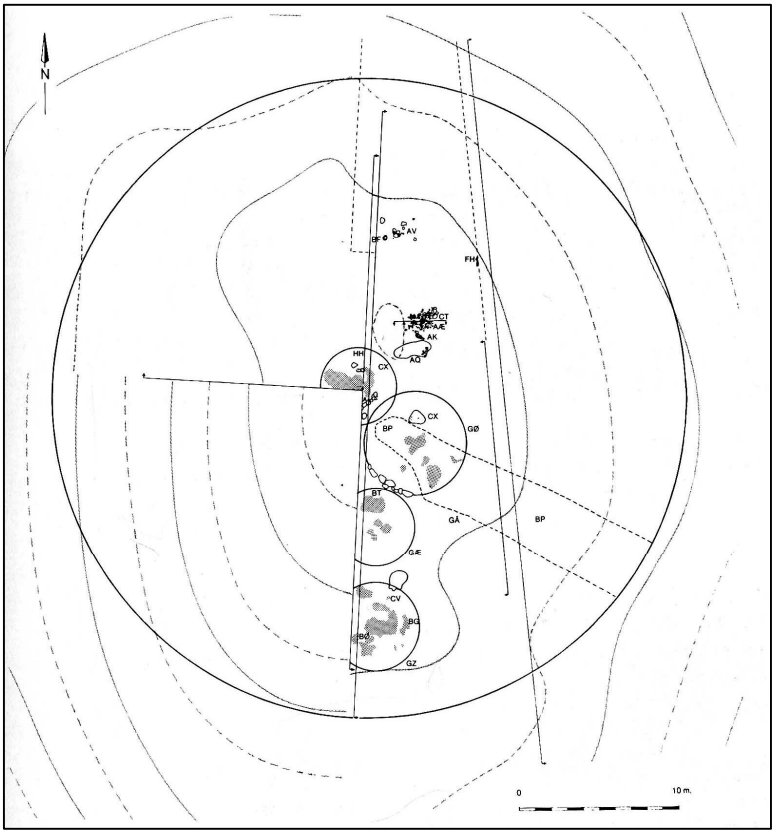


Figure 2.9: The mini-mounds encompassed by the maxi-mound at Lusehøj (Thrane 1993: 81).

Chapter 3

A

B

C

D E

F G

Figure 3.1: Bergebrant's reconstruction of Bronze Age costumes from the oak coffin burials, A: the Egtved burial; B: the Skrydstrup burial; C: Borum Eshøj grave C; D: the Muldbjerg burial; E: the Trindøj burial; F: Borum Eshøj grave A; G: Borum Eshøj grave B (after Bergebrant 2007: 51-53, reconstructions by Sigyn Stenquist).

Chapter 4

Figure 4.1: The Egtved burial's costume (after Glob 1974: 62).

A

B

C

Figure 4.2: Reconstructions of the string skirt costume from the burial at Egtved (after Piggot 1966: pl. 23, Broholm & Hald 1940: 154), costume created by Margarethe Hald and Kristiansen & Larsson 2005: 299).

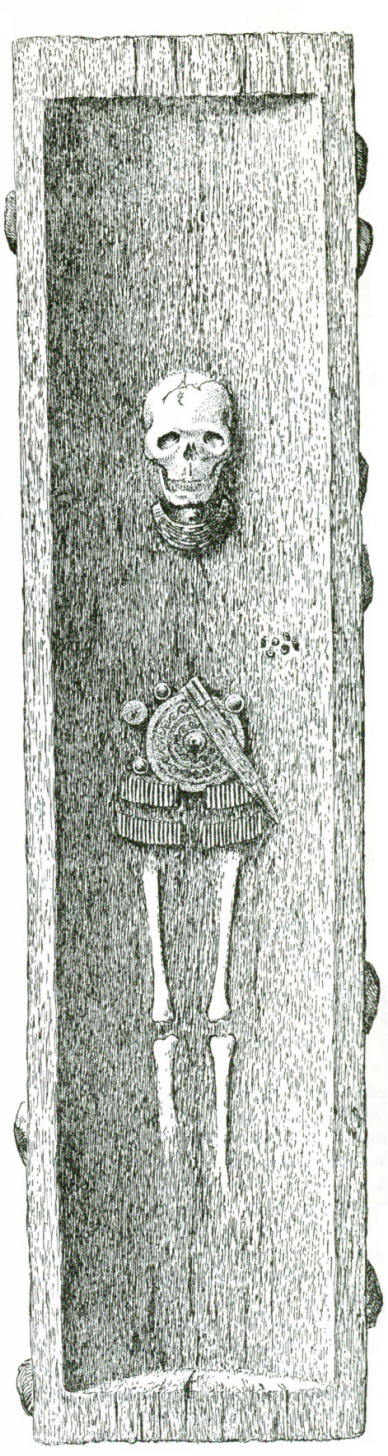
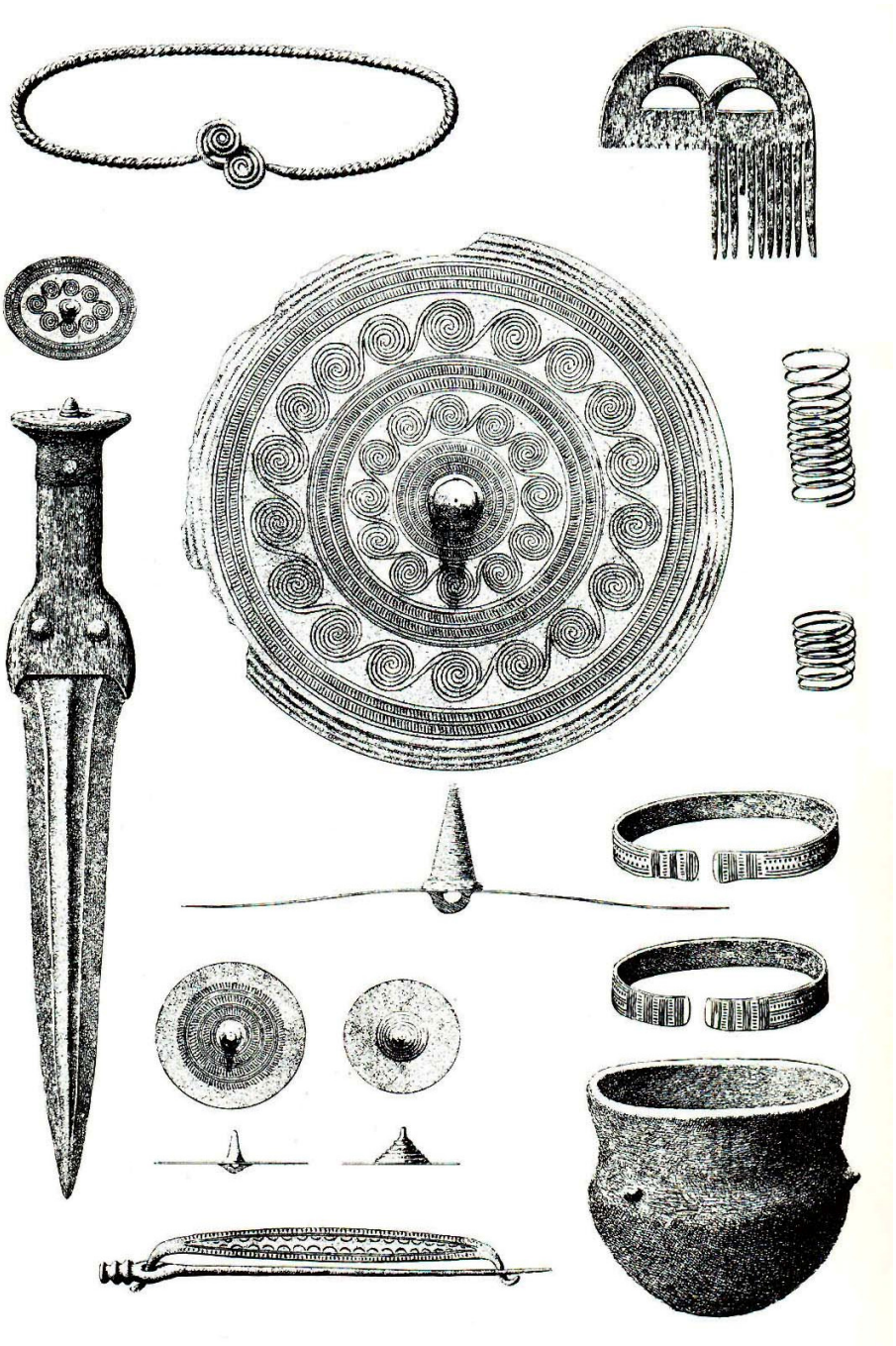


Figure 4.3: The burial from Ølby with bronze tubes suggesting that the deceased has been clothed in a string skirt (after Glob 1974: 45, drawing by V. Boye).

A



B

Figure 4.4: Costume (A) and accoutrements (B) of the woman from Borum Eshøj, burial C (after Glob 1974: 34-35, drawings by V. Boye).

Figure 4.5: Reconstruction of the costume from the Skrydstrup burial (after Broholm & Hald 1940: 155, costume created by Margarethe Hald).

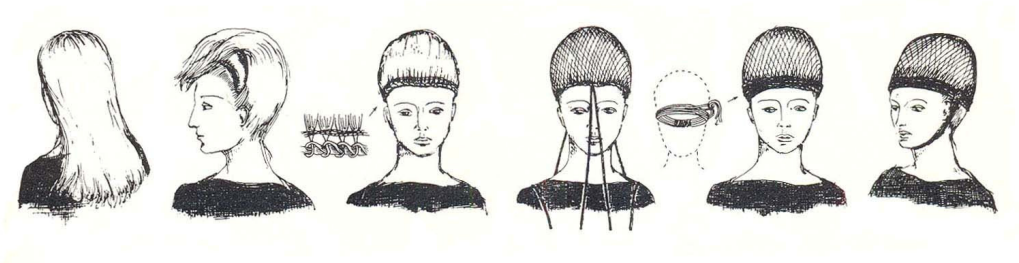
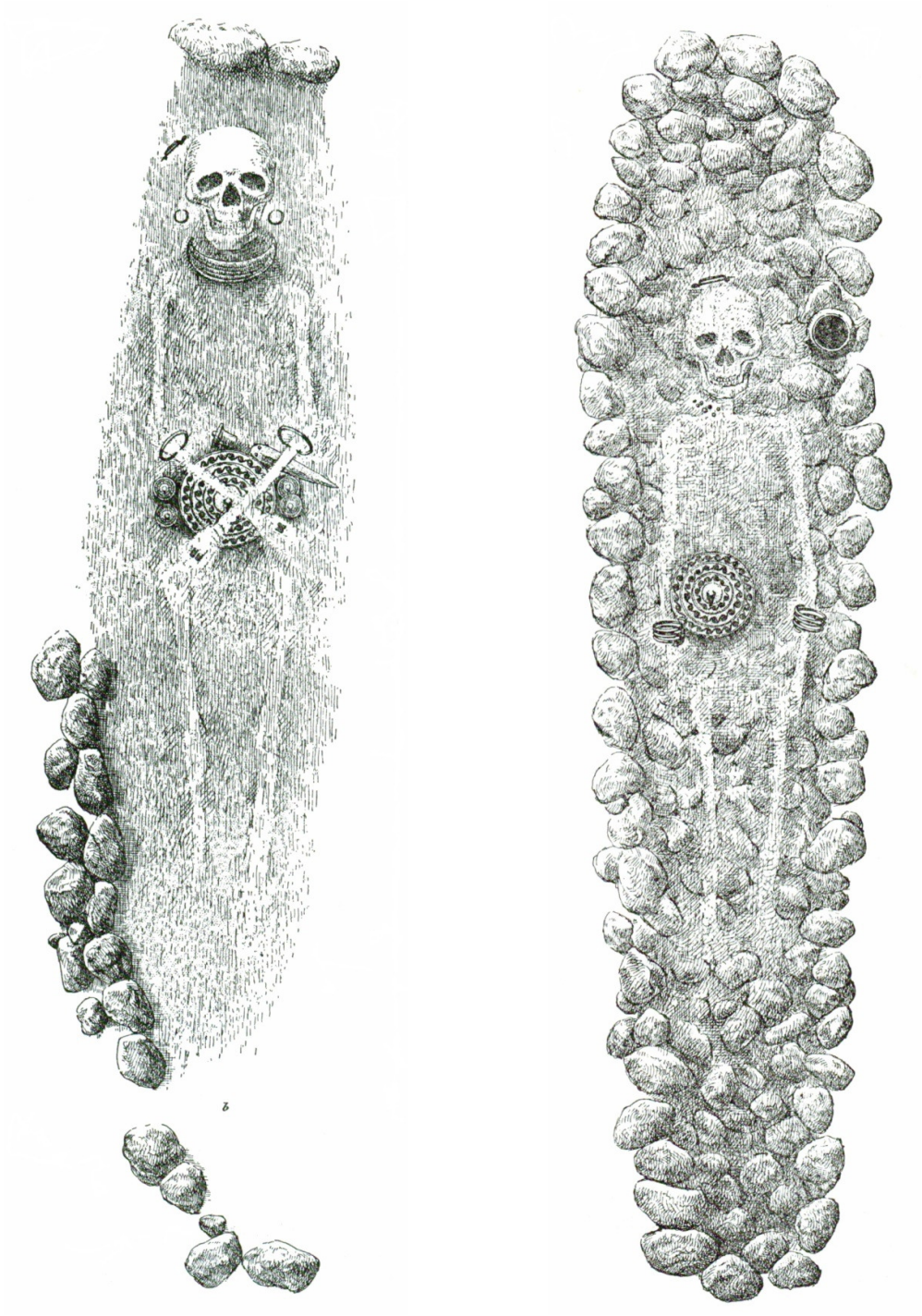


Figure 4.6: Diagram reconstructing the process through which the cap was woven into the hair of the woman from the burial at Skrydstrup (after Kristiansen 1987: 43).



A B

Figure 4.7: Burials from Hesselagergård, grave B (A) and Hessalager (B) in Svendborg County, Fyn, in which the fibula was placed above the head (after Aner & Kersten 1977: 160-161, drawings by A.P. Madsen).

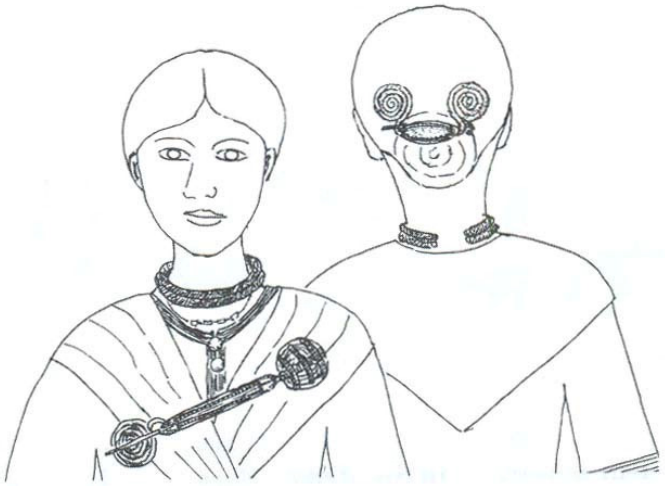


Figure 4.8: Reconstruction illustrating the potential use of a Haarknotenfibel (after Laux 1996: 106).

Figure 4.9: Internal and external view illustrating the construction and dense pile on the surface of the round cap from the Muldbjerg burial (after Broholm & Hald 1940: 18).

A B

Figure 4.10: Examples of male hairstyle from the oak coffin burial at Lille Dragshøj (A) in Tønder County, Sønderjylland, and the anthropomorphic handle of the razor from Tinghøj, Sjælland (B) (after Kristiansen & Larsson 2005: 228).

Figure 4.11: Front and back views of the costume with 'wrap around' tunic from the Muldbjerg burial (after Broholm & Hald 1940: 23 and 25).

Figure 4.12: Front and side views of the costume with 'wrap around' tunic from the Trindhøj Burial (after Broholm & Hald 1940: 34).

Figure 4.13: Front view of the costume with kilt like inner garment from Borum Eshøj grave A (after Broholm & Hald 1940: 57).

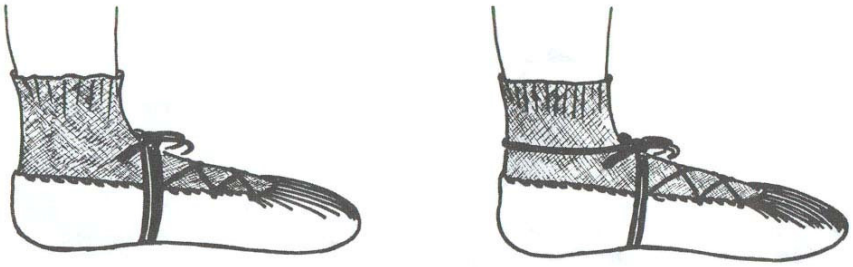


Figure 4.14: Reconstruction of footwear as interpreted from observation of the well preserved oak coffin graves (after Broholm & Hald 1939: 89, drawing by P.V. Glob).

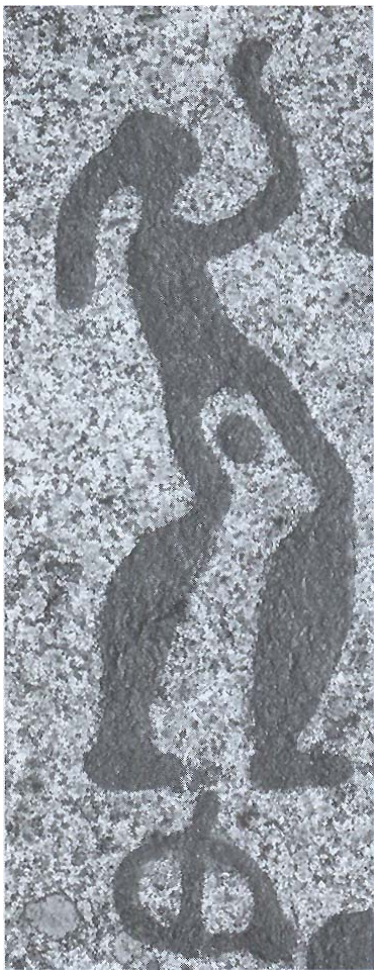
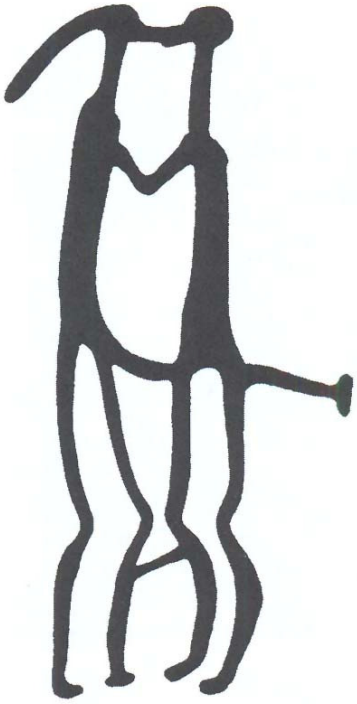


Figure 4.15: Rock carving from Bohuslän, Sweden with a cup mark and long pony tail typically interpreted as female (after Kristiansen & Larsson 2005: 342).

A



B C

Figure 4.16: Rock carvings from Bohuslän, Sweden typically interpreted as representing male- female relations from Hvarlös (A), Vitlycke (B) and Slänge (C) (after Glob 1969: 182, Kristiansen & Larsson 2005: 346 and Glob 1974: 170).

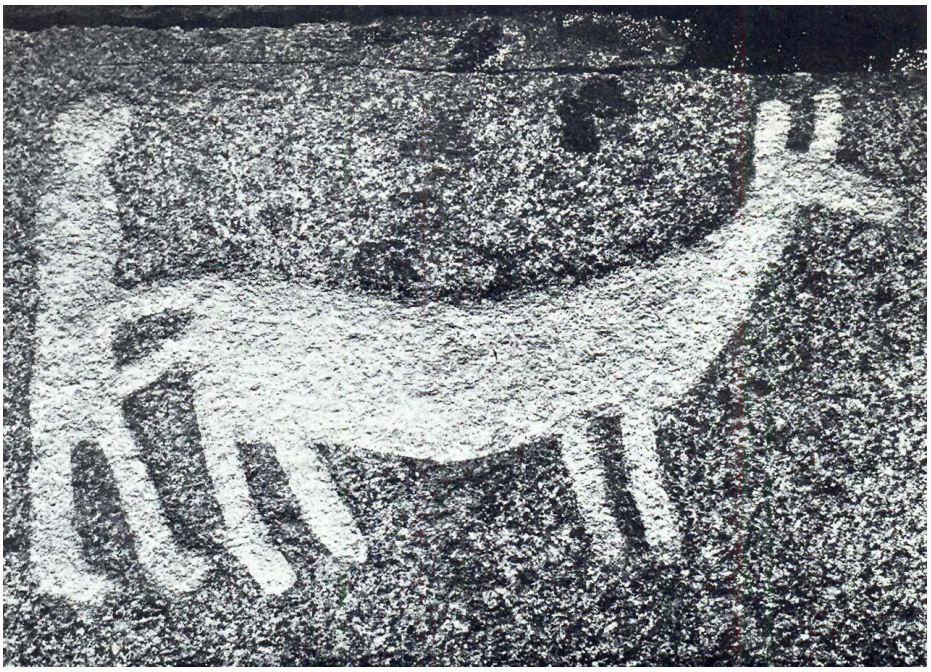


Figure 4.17: Rock carving depicting coitus between man and beast from Hoghem in Bohuslän, Sweden (after Glob 1969: 184).

Figure 4.18: The Maltegård stone from Sjælland, Denmark, with phallic and ambiguous figures juxtaposed on either side of a cup mark, traditionally interpreted as a 'spring wedding' scene between male and female (after Glob 1969: 97).

Figure 4.19: Razor with anthropomorphic handle from the Period II burial at Tinghøj in Sjælland (after Broholm & Hald 1940: 159).

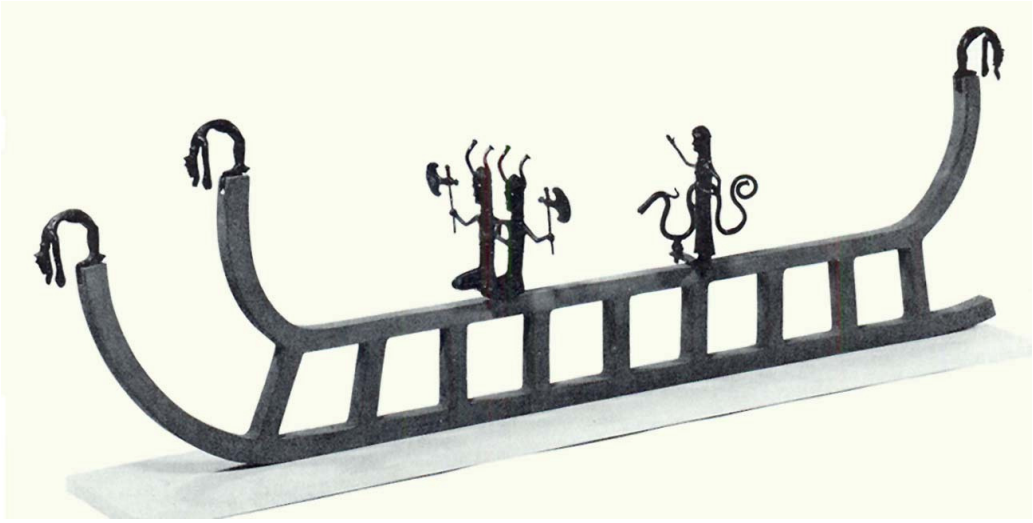


Figure 4.20: Reconstruction of the figurines from Grevensvænge (after Glob 1969: 194).

A

B

Figure 4.21: The two remaining anthropomorphic figurines from Grevensvænge, Sjælland. One which appears sexless, is typically interpreted as representative of a male twin god (A), while the other, having the indication of breasts, appears to be female (B) (after Glob 1969:18 and Broholm 1947:198).

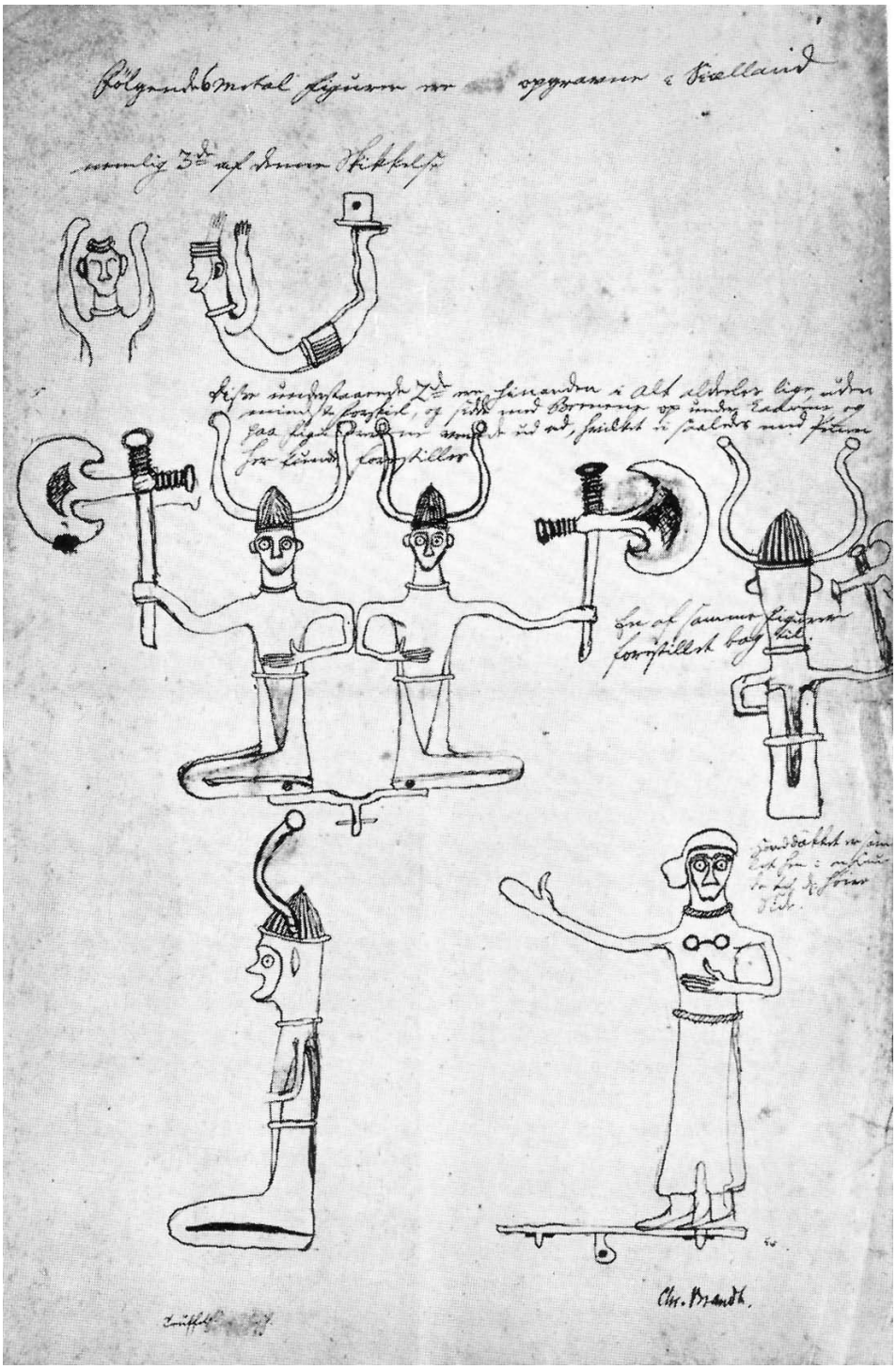


Figure 4.22: Drawings of the group of anthropomorphic figurines from Grevensvænge of which only two now remain (after Glob 1969: 192).

Figure 4.23: Female figurine from Fårdal (after Glob 1974: 156).

Figure 4.24: Front and profile views of the nude bronze anthropomorphic figurine from Fangel Torp. (after Mathiassen 1953: pl. 320-320a, Vol. IV).

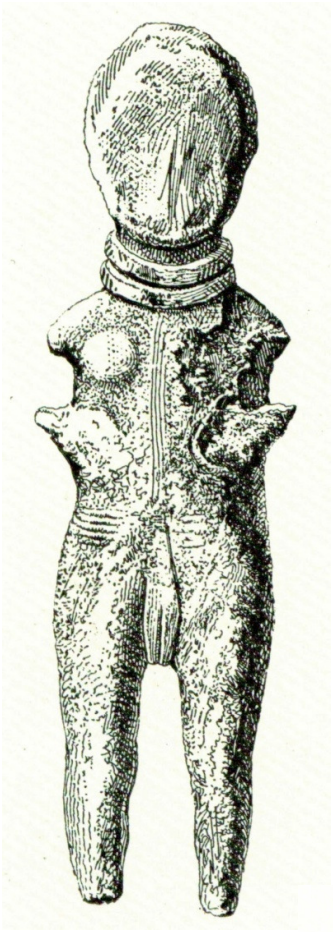


Figure 4.25: Nude bronze figurine from Island Farø displaying breasts and emphasised genetalia (after Mathiassen 1953: pl. 321, Vol. IV).

Figure 4.26: Front and profile views of the nude bronze figurine from Viksø displaying breasts and emphasised genetalia (after Mathiassen 1953: pl. 322-322a, Vol. IV).

Chapter 5

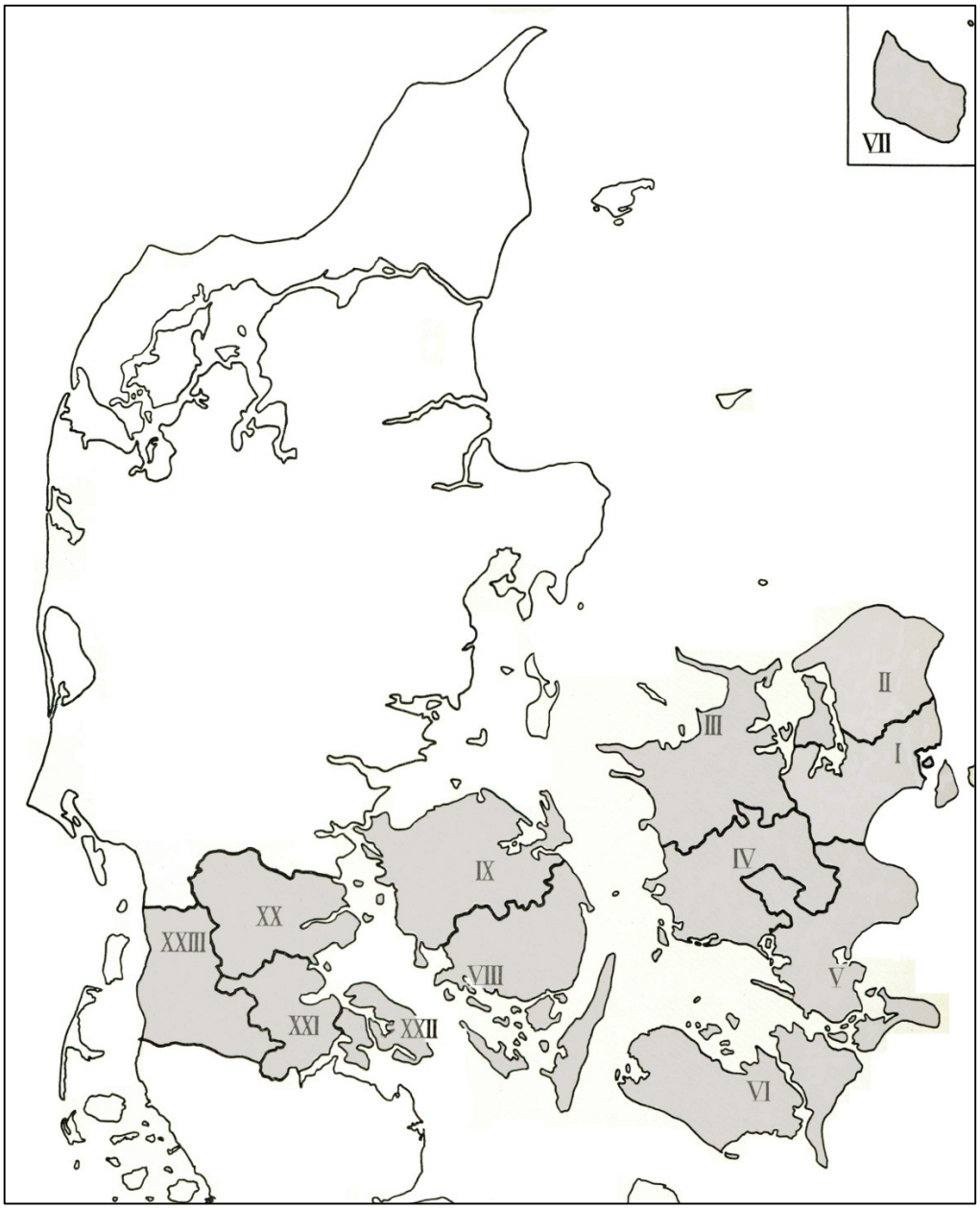


Figure 5.1: Map showing the representative sample area, highlighted in grey, which pertains to the mortuary data catalogued in the database and examined through statistical analysis in Chapter 5. In Sjælland: København County (I), Frederiksborg County (II), Holbæk County (III), Sorø County (IV) and Præstø County (V); in Mon, Falster and Lolland: Maribo County (VI); in Bornholm: Bornholm County (VII); in Fyn: Svendborg County (VIII) and Odense County (IX); in Sønderjylland: Haderslev County (XX), Abenrå County (XXI), Sønderborg County (XXII) and Tønder County (XXIII) (base map after Mathiassen 1953: 105).

Frequency of Artefact Types to Sex

Artefact Type	Male	Female	Unknown	Total
Sword	169	1	34	204
Dagger	45	14	68	127
Chape	7	1	3	11
Knife	42	10	62	114
Lance Point	6	0	7	13
Flint Point	2	0	8	10
Flint Blade	4	0	1	5
Axe	29	0	6	35
Fish Hook	3	0	1	4
Needle	8	0	14	22
Chisel	3	0	0	3
Saw	3	0	4	7
Sickle	0	2	2	4
Belt Hook	11	0	1	12
Nail(s)	1	0	1	2
Fibula	64	28	59	151
Tutuli	22	32	23	77
Bead	6	14	9	29
Inlay	10	0	3	13
Double Button	52	3	40	95
Finger Spiral	10	18	12	40
Finger Ring	1	3	5	9
Neck Ring	0	10	3	13
Neck Collar	0	22	2	24
Arm Spiral	4	25	8	37
Arm RIng	10	24	18	52
Arm Band	1	14	5	20
Belt Box	0	2	0	2
Belt Plate	0	27	0	27
Hair Ring	0	10	1	11
Tubes	0	8	1	9
Disc	4	0	0	4
Razor	45	1	36	92
Comb	4	0	2	6
Toilet Case	4	0	1	5
Tweezers	43	0	32	75
Awl	10	4	37	75
Pin	9	6	14	29
Miniature Sword	0	0	3	3
Spiral	6	5	3	14
Flint Lithic Tool	42	0	10	52
Short Sword	4	0	0	4
Miniature Dagger	0	0	1	1
Button	0	0	6	6
Ankle Ring	0	6	2	8

Artefact Type	Male	Female	Unknown	Total
Scraper	0	0	1	1
Hanging Vessel	1	0	0	1
Pendant	1	1	0	2
Vessel	6	6	16	28
Animal Part(s)	16	0	2	18
Natural Unshaped Materials	17	1	8	26
Metal Fragment(s)	8	2	12	22
Wire	3	1	1	5
Ring(s)	6	0	5	11
Other	11	3	13	27
Flint Piece(s)	2	1	2	5
Leather Fragment(s)	5	0	1	6
Fabric	1	0	2	3
Box	4	1	1	6
Bowl	4	1	1	6
Total	780	308	611	1699

Table 5.1: Frequency with which each artefact type in the data set occurs with TBA Male, TBA Female and Unknown burials in the non-osteologically examined dataset.

Regional Distribution of Artefact Types

Artefact Type	Bornholm N(%)	Falster N(%)	Fyn N(%)	Jylland N(%)	Lolland N(%)	Sjælland N(%)	Total
Animal Parts	1 (6)	0 (0)	0 (0)	2 (11)	0 (0)	15 (83)	18
Ankle Ring	1 (13)	0 (0)	0 (0)	5 (63)	0 (0)	2 (25)	8
Arm Band	1 (5)	0 (0)	2 (10)	10 (50)	0 (0)	7 (35)	20
Arm Ring	8 (15)	1 (2)	4 (8)	21 (40)	2 (4)	16 (31)	52
Arm Spiral	12 (32)	0 (0)	1 (3)	9 (24)	0 (0)	15 (41)	37
Awl	1 (2)	0 (0)	2 (4)	19 (37)	8 (16)	21 (41)	51
Axe	5 (14)	0 (0)	1 (3)	11 (31)	0 (0)	18 (51)	35
Bead	4 (14)	0 (0)	1 (3)	13 (45)	0 (0)	11 (38)	29
Belt Box	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	2 (100)	0 (0)	0 (0)	2
Belt Hook	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	2 (17)	0 (0)	10 (83)	12
Belt Plate	0 (0)	0 (0)	2 (7)	7 (26)	1 (4)	17 (63)	27
Bowl	0 (0)	0 (0)	1 (17)	5 (83)	0 (0)	0 (0)	6
Box	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	3 (50)	0 (0)	3 (50)	6
Button	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	1 (17)	0 (0)	5 (83)	6
Chape	0 (0)	0 (0)	1 (9)	6 (55)	2 (18)	2 (18)	11
Chisel	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	3 (100)	3
Comb	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	5 (83)	0 (0)	1 (17)	6
Dagger	16 (13)	0 (0)	2 (2)	45 (35)	5 (4)	59 (46)	127
Disc	1 (25)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	3 (75)	4
Double Button	17 (18)	0 (0)	1 (1)	19 (20)	6 (6)	52 (55)	95

Artefact Type	Bornholm N(%)	Falster N(%)	Fyn N(%)	Jylland N(%)	Lolland N(%)	Sjælland N(%)	Total
Fabric	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	3 (100)	3
Fibula	34 (23)	0 (0)	5 (3)	47 (31)	7 (5)	58 (38)	151
Finger Ring	1 (11)	0 (0)	0 (0)	5 (56)	0 (0)	3 (33)	9
Finger Spiral	9 (23)	0 (0)	5 (13)	19 (48)	0 (0)	7 (18)	40
Fish Hook	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	4 (100)	4
Flint Blade	2 (40)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	3 (60)	5
Flint Lithic Tool	3 (6)	0 (0)	1 (2)	10 (19)	5 (10)	33 (63)	52
Flint Piece(s)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	1 (20)	0 (0)	4 (80)	5
Flint Point	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	5 (50)	0 (0)	5 (50)	10
Hair Ring	4 (36)	0 (0)	0 (0)	5 (45)	0 (0)	2 (18)	11
Hanging Vessel	1 (100)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	1
Inlay	4 (31)	0 (0)	0 (0)	1 (8)	0 (0)	8 (62)	13
Knife	22 (19)	0 (0)	4 (4)	30 (26)	11 (10)	47 (41)	114
Lance Point	3 (23)	0 (0)	0 (0)	7 (54)	0 (0)	3 (23)	13)
Leather Fragment(s)	1 (17)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	5 (83)	6
Metal Fragment(s)	4 (18)	0 (0)	0 (0)	11 (50)	0 (0)	7 (32)	22
Miniature Dagger	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	1 (100)	1
Miniature Sword	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	3 (100)	3
Nail(s)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	1 (50)	0 (0)	1 (50)	2
Natural Unshaped Material(s)	1 (4)	0 (0)	2 (8)	8 (31)	0 (0)	15 (58)	26
Neck Collar	1 (4)	0 (0)	1 (4)	6 (25)	0 (0)	16 (67)	24
Neck Ring	5 (38)	0 (0)	0 (0)	4 (31)	0 (0)	4 (31)	13
Needle	1 (5)	0 (0)	0 (0)	1 (5)	1 (5)	19 (86)	22
Other	3 (11)	0 (0)	0 (0)	4 (15)	2 (7)	18 (67)	27
Pendant	1 (50)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	1 (50)	2
Pin	3 (10)	0 (0)	0 (0)	14 (48)	1 (3)	11 (38)	29
Razor	19 (21)	0 (0)	1 (1)	17 (18)	7 (7)	48 (52)	92
Ring(s)	1 (9)	0 (0)	2 (18)	3 (27)	1 (9)	4 (36)	11
Saw	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	7 (100)	7
Scraper	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	1 (100)	0 (0)	0 (0)	1
Short Sword	0 (0)	0 (0)	1 (25)	2 (50)	0 (0)	1 (25)	4
Sickle	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	2 (50)	0 (0)	2 (50)	4
Spiral	4 (29)	0 (0)	0 (0)	4 (29)	0 (0)	6 (43)	14
Sword	15 (7)	1 (0.4)	12 (6)	64 (32)	7 (3)	105 (52)	204
Toilet Case	0 (0)	0 (0)	1 (20)	0 (0)	0 (0)	4 (80)	5
Tubes	1 (11)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	1 (11)	7 (78)	9
Tutuli	6 (8)	0 (0)	4 (5)	19 (25)	2 (3)	46 (60)	77
Tweezers	16 (21)	0 (0)	1 (1)	14 (19)	5 (7)	39 (52)	75
Vessel	1 (4)	0 (0)	4 (14)	18 (64)	1 (4)	4 (14)	28
Wire	2 (40)	0 (0)	0 (0)	1 (20)	0 (0)	2 (40)	5

Table 5.2: The frequency and distribution of artefact types per region in the dataset containing non-osteologically examined remains.

Chronological Distribution of Artefact Types

Artefact Type	I N(%)	II N(%)	III N(%)	EBA N(%)	IV N(%)	V N(%)	LBA N(%)	U N(%)
Animal Parts	0 (0)	5 (27)	12 (67)	1 (6)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)
Ankle Ring	0 (0)	1 (13)	5 (63)	1 (13)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	1 (13)
Arm Band	0 (0)	7 (35)	8 (40)	2 (10)	0 (0)	0 (0)	1 (5)	2 (10)
Arm Ring	0 (0)	13 (25)	27 (52)	6 (12)	0 (0)	0 (0)	1 (2)	5 (10)
Arm Spiral	0 (0)	12 (32)	15 (41)	6 (16)	0 (0)	0 (0)	1 (3)	3 (8)
Awl	0 (0)	6 (12)	15 (29)	2 (4)	1 (2)	0 (0)	18 (35)	9 (18)
Axe	1 (3)	28 (80)	2 (6)	3 (9)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	1 (3)
Bead	0 (0)	17 (59)	8 (27)	2 (7)	0 (0)	0 (0)	1 (3)	1 (3)
Belt Box	0 (0)	0 (0)	2 (100)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)
Belt Hook	1 (8)	7 (58)	2 (16)	2 (16)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)
Belt Plate	0 (0)	27 (100)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)
Bowl	0 (0)	5 (83)	0 (0)	1 (17)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)
Box	0 (0)	3 (50)	2 (33)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	1 (17)
Button	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	1 (17)	0 (0)	0 (0)	4 (67)	1 (17)
Chape	0 (0)	2 (18)	8 (73)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	1 (9)
Chisel	0 (0)	1 (33)	1 (33)	1 (33)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)
Comb	0 (0)	4 (67)	2 (33)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)
Dagger	2 (2)	50 (39)	38 (30)	31 (24)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	6 (5)
Disc	0 (0)	4 (100)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)
Double Button	0 (0)	18 (19)	58 (61)	0 (0)	2 (2)	0 (0)	12 (13)	5 (5)
Fabric	0 (0)	1 (33)	1 (33)	1 (33)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)
Fibula	0 (0)	44 (29)	92 (61)	6 (4)	1 (.7)	0 (0)	2 (1)	6 (4)
Finger Ring	0 (0)	2 (22)	4 (44)	3 (33)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)
Finger Spiral	0 (0)	17 (43)	14 (35)	5 (13	0 (0)	0 (0)	1 (3)	3 (8)
Fish Hook	0 (0)	3 (75)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	1 (25)	0 (0)
Flint Blade	0 (0)	2 (40)	0 (0)	3 (60)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)
Flint Lithic Tool	1 (2)	23 (44)	16 (31)	8 (15)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	4 (8)
Flint Piece(s)	0 (0)	1 (20)	3 (60)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	1 (20)	0 (0)
Flint Point	0 (0)	1 (10)	2 (20)	6 (60)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	1 (10)
Hair Ring	0 (0)	6 (55)	1 (9)	4 (36)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)
Hanging Vessel	0 (0)	1 (100)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)
Inlay	0 (0)	8 (62)	1 (8)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	3 (23)	1 (8)
Knife	0 (0)	6 (5)	70 (61)	8 (7)	0 (0)	0 (0)	14 (12)	16 (14)
Lance Point	1 (8)	4 (31)	1 (8)	1 (8)	0 (0)	0 (0)	6 (46)	0 (0)
Leather Fragment(s)	0 (0)	2 (33)	3 (50)	1 (17)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)
Metal Fragment(s)	0 (0)	4 (18)	10 (45)	3 (14)	0 (0)	0 (0)	1 (5)	4 (18)
Miniature Dagger	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	1 (100)
Miniature Sword	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	1 (25)	0 (0)	2 (75)	0 (0)

Artefact Type	I	II	III	EBA	IV	V	LBA	U
	N(%)	N(%)	N(%)	N(%)	N(%)	N(%)	N(%)	N(%)
Nail(s)	0 (0)	1 (50)	1 (50)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)
Natural Unshaped Material(s)	0 (0)	10 (38)	6 (23)	7 (27)	0 (0)	0 (0)	2 (8)	1 (4)
Neck Collar	0 (0)	22 (92)	1 (4)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	1 (4)
Neck Ring	0 (0)	2 (15)	8 (62)	2 (15)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	1 (8)
Needle	1 (4)	5 (23)	4 (18)	2 (9)	1 (4)	0 (0)	3 (14)	6 (27)
Other	0 (0)	6 (22)	12 (44)	7 (26)	0 (0)	0 (0)	1 (4)	1 (4)
Pendant	0 (0)	0 (0)	2 (100)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)
Pin	0 (0)	3 (10)	11 (38)	4 (14)	0 (0)	0 (0)	8 (28)	3 (10)
Razor	0 (0)	21 (23)	38 (41)	2 (2)	4 (4)	0 (0)	23 (25)	4 (4)
Ring(s)	0 (0)	2 (18)	3 (27)	2 (18)	0 (0)	0 (0)	3 (27)	1 (9)
Saw	0 (0)	1 (14)	2 (29)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	4 (57)	0 (0)
Scraper	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	1 (100)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)
Short Sword	1 (25)	3 (75)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)
Sickle	0 (0)	1 (25)	1 (25)	2 (50)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)
Spiral	0 (0)	8 (57)	5 (36)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	1 (7)
Sword	1 (.04)	73 (36)	87 (43)	29 (14)	0 (0)	0 (0)	4 (2)	10 (5)
Toilet Case	0 (0)	3 (60)	2 (40)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)
Tubes	0 (0)	8 (89)	0 (0)	1 (11)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)
Tutuli	1 (1)	41 (53)	30 (39)	0 (0)	0 (0)	1 (1)	1 (1)	3 (4)
Tweezers	0 (0)	18 (24)	24 (32)	3 (4)	1 (1)	1 (1)	22 (29)	6 (8)
Vessel	0 (0)	7 (25)	5 (18)	11 (39)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	5 (18)
Wire	0 (0)	3 (60)	0 (0)	2 (40)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)

Table 5.3: Chronological frequency and distribution of artefact types in the dataset containing non-osteologically examined remains.

Regional and Chronological Distribution of Burials by Sex

Factors Analysed	Female N(%)	Male N(%)	Unknown N(%)	Total	P
Region:					0.000
Bornholm	46 (20)	129 (55)	60 (25)	235	
Falster	0 (0)	0 (0)	2 (100)	2	
Fyn	22 (35)	28 (45)	12 (20)	62	
Jyllland	99 (19)	178 (35)	232 (46)	509	
Lolland	8 (11)	36 (48)	31 (41)	75	
Sjælland	133 (16)	409 (50)	274 (34)	816	
Period:					0.000
I	0 (0)	9 (90)	1 (10)	10	
II	177 (31)	338 (59)	58 (10)	573	
III	99 (15)	353 (53)	213 (32)	665	
EBA	24 (13)	59 (32)	100 (55)	183	
IV	0 (0)	0 (0)	11 (100)	11	
V	0 (0)	0 (0)	2 (100)	2	
LBA	0 (0)	1 (1)	139 (99)	140	
Unknown	8 (7)	20 (17)	87 (76)	115	

Table 5.4: Chronological and regional frequency and distribution of burials by sex in the dataset containing non-osteologically examined burials.

Frequency of Artefact Types to Sex

Artefact Type	Female N(%)	Male N(%)	Total
Animal Parts	2 (100)	0 (0)	2
Arm Ring	5 (83)	1 (17)	6
Awl	2 (50)	2 (50)	4
Axe	0 (0)	2 (100)	2
Bead	1 (50)	1 (50)	2
Belt Hook	0 (0)	1 (100)	1
Belt Plate	2 (67)	1 (33)	3
Box	1 (50)	1 (50)	2
Chisel	0 (0)	1 (100)	1
Comb	3 (60)	2 (40)	5
Dagger	1 (20)	4 (80)	5
Double Button	1 (33)	2 (67)	3
Fibula	3 (43)	4 (57)	7
Finger Spiral	2 (67)	1 (33)	3
Flint Lithic Tool	0 (0)	2 (100)	2
Hair Ring	2 (100)	0 (0)	2
Knife	1 (25)	3 (35)	4
Nail(s)	0 (0)	1 (100)	1
Natural Unshaped Material(s)	2 (100)	0 (0)	2
Neck Ring	1 (100)	0 (0)	1
Needle	0 (0)	1 (100)	1
Other	0 (0)	2 (100)	2
Razor	0 (0)	2 (100)	2
Ring(s)	1 (100)	0 (0)	1
Saw	0 (0)	1 (100)	1
Spiral	1 (100)	0 (0)	1
Sword	1 (17)	5 (83)	6
Tutuli	1 (100)	0 (0)	1
Tweezers	0 (0)	2 (100)	2
Vessel	1 (100)	0 (0)	1
Wedge	1 (100)	0 (0)	1

Table 5.5: Frequency with which each artefact type in the data set occurs with TBA Male, TBA Female and Unknown burials in the osteologically examined dataset.

Regional Distribution of Artefact Types

Artefact Type	Jylland N(%)	Sjælland N(%)	Total
Animal Parts	2 (100)	0 (0)	2
Arm Ring	4 (67)	2 (33)	6
Awl	4 (100)	0 (0)	4
Axe	2 (100)	0 (0)	2
Bead	1 (50)	1 (50)	2
Belt Hook	1 (100)	0 (0)	1
Belt Plate	3 (100)	0 (0)	3
Box	2 (100)	0 (0)	2
Chisel	1 (100)	0 (0)	1
Comb	5 (100)	0 (0)	5
Dagger	2 (40)	3 (60)	5
Double Button	2 (67)	1 (33)	3
Fibula	3 (43)	4 (57)	7
Finger Spiral	3 (100)	0 (0)	3
Flint Lithic Tool	1 (50)	1 (50)	2
Hair Ring	2 (100)	0 (0)	2
Knife	2 (50)	2 (20)	4
Nail(s)	1 (100)	0 (0)	1
Natural Unshaped Material(s)	2 (100)	0 (0)	2
Neck Ring	1 (100)	0 (0)	1
Needle	1 (100)	0 (0)	1
Other	0 (0)	2 (100)	2
Razor	2 (100)	0 (0)	2
Ring(s)	1 (100)	0 (0)	1
Saw	1 (100)	0 (0)	1
Spiral	1 (100)	0 (0)	1
Sword	3 (50)	3 (50)	6
Tutuli	0 (0)	1 (100)	1
Tweezers	1 (50)	1 (50)	2
Vessel	1 (100)	0 (0)	1
Wedge	0 (0)	1 (100)	1

Table 5.6: The frequency and distribution of artefact types per region in the dataset containing non-osteologically examined remains.

Chronological Distribution of Artefact Types

Artefact Type	EBA N(%)	II N(%)	III N(%)	LBA N(%)	Unknown N(%)	Total
Animal Parts	0 (0)	0 (0)	2 (100)	0 (0)	0 (0)	2
Arm Ring	1 (17)	2 (33)	3 (50)	0 (0)	0 (0)	6
Awl	0 (0)	3 (75)	0 (0)	1 (25)	0 (0)	4
Axe	1 (50)	1 (50)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	2
Bead	0 (0)	0 (0)	2 (100)	0 (0)	0 (0)	2
Belt Hook	0 (0)	1 (100)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	1
Belt Plate	0 (0)	3 (100)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	3
Box	0 (0)	2 (100)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	2
Chisel	0 (0)	1 (100)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	1
Comb	0 (0)	3 (60)	2 (40)	0 (0)	0 (0)	5
Dagger	2 (40)	2 (40)	0 (0)	0 (0)	1 (20)	5
Double Button	1 (33)	1 (33)	0 (0)	0 (0)	1 (33)	3
Fibula	2 (29)	2 (29)	2 (29)	0 (0)	1 (14)	7
Finger Spiral	0 (0)	2 (67)	1 (33)	0 (0)	0 (0)	3
Flint Lithic Tool	0 (0)	1 (50)	1 (50)	0 (0)	0 (0)	2
Hair Ring	0 (0)	1 (50)	1 (50)	0 (0)	0 (0)	2
Knife	1 (25)	0 (0)	2 (50)	0 (0)	1 (25)	4
Nail(s)	0 (0)	1 (100)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	1
Natural Unshaped Material(s)	0 (0)	0 (0)	1 (50)	1 (50)	0 (0)	2
Neck Ring	0 (0)	1 (100)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	1
Needle	1 (100)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	1
Other	0 (0)	0 (0)	2 (100)	0 (0)	0 (0)	2
Razor	0 (0)	1 (50)	1 (50)	0 (0)	0 (0)	2
Ring(s)	0 (0)	0 (0)	1 (100)	0 (0)	0 (0)	1
Saw	0 (0)	1 (100)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	1
Spiral	0 (0)	0 (0)	1 (100)	0 (0)	0 (0)	1
Sword	2 (33)	2 (33)	1 (17)	0 (0)	1 (17)	6
Tutuli	1 (100)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	1
Tweezers	0 (0)	1 (50)	0 (0)	0 (0)	1 (50)	1
Vessel	0 (0)	1 (100)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	1
Wedge	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	1 (100)	1

Table 5.7: Chronological frequency and distribution of artefact types in the dataset containing osteologically examined remains.

Regional and Chronological Distribution of Burials by Sex

Factors Analysed	Female N(%)	Male N(%)	Total	P
Region:				**0.011**
Jylland	**30**	**25**	**35**	
Sjælland	**5**	**17**		
Period:				**0.173**
II	**15**	**18**	**33**	
III	**13**	**10**	**23**	
EBA	**3**	**9**	**12**	
LBA	**2**	**0**	**2**	
Unknown	**2**	**5**	**7**	

Table 5.8: Regional and chronological frequency and distribution of burials by Sex in dataset containing osteologically examined burials.

Artefact Type Description

1	Sword	3	Dagger	5	Chape
6	Knife	7	Lance point	8	Flint point
9	Flint blade	11	Axe	12	Fish hook
13	Needle	14	Chisel	15	Saw
16	Sickle	18	Belt hook	19	Nail(s)
20	Fibula	21	Tutuli	22	Bead
23	Inlay	25	Double button	26	Finger spiral
27	Finger ring	28	Neck ring	29	Neck collar
30	Arm spiral	31	Arm ring	32	Arm band
33	Belt box	34	Belt plate	35	Hair ring
36	Leg ring	37	Tube(s)	39	Disc
39	Disc	40	Razor	41	Comb
42	Toilet case	43	Tweezers	44	Awl
45	Pin	46	Miniature sword	47	Spiral
48	Flint lithic tool	49	Short Sword	50	Miniature dagger
52	Button	53	Ankle ring	55	Scraper
56	Hanging vessel	57	Pendant	58	Vessel
59	Animal part(s)	60	Natural unshaped material(s)	61	Metal fragment(s)
62	Wire	63	Rings(s)	64	Other
65	Flint piece(s)	66	Leather fragment(s)	67	Fabric
68	Box	69	Bowl		

Table 5.13: Artefact type key listing each artefact type and its corresponding numeric value as assigned for the purpose of statistical analysis.

Chapter 6

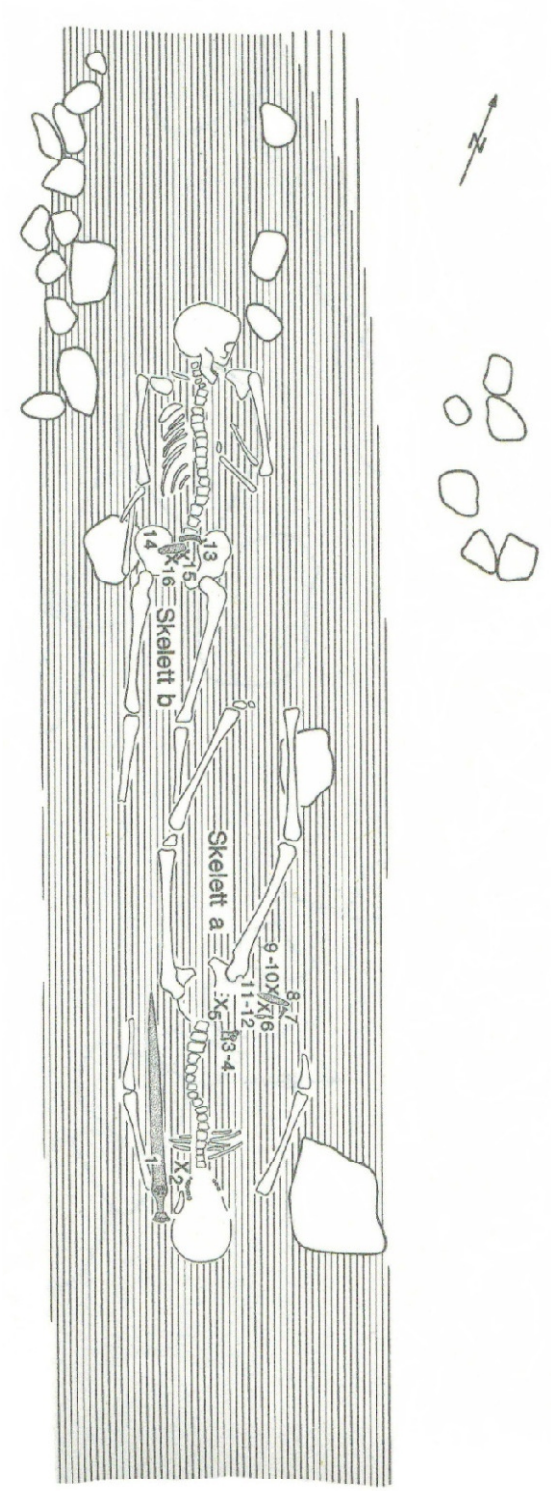


Figure 6.1: Illustration of grave Q from Karlstrup in København County, Sjælland, containing two individuals considered to be male which were interred together in a large coffin (after Aner & Kersten 1973: 186).

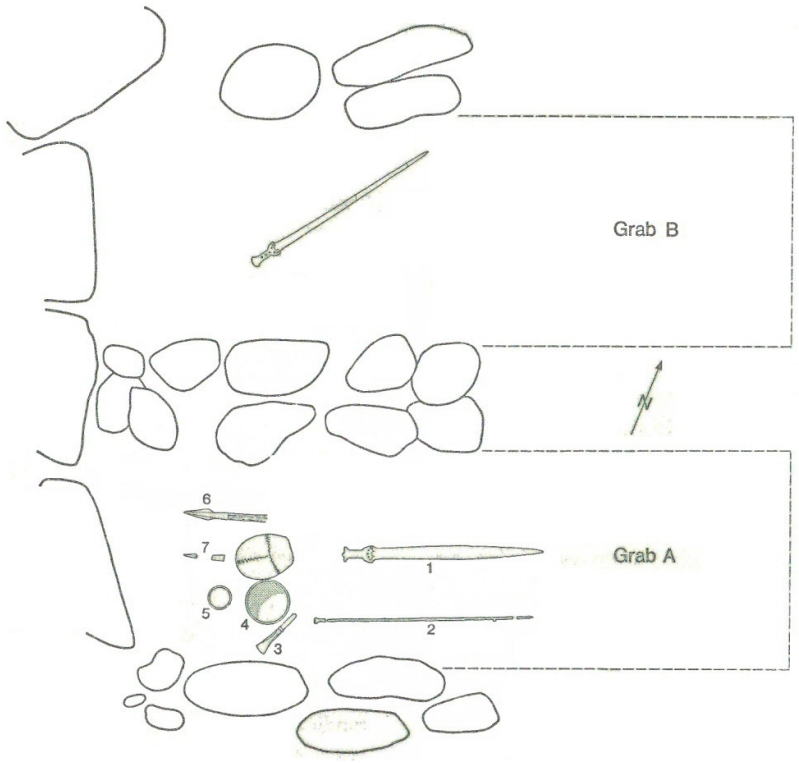
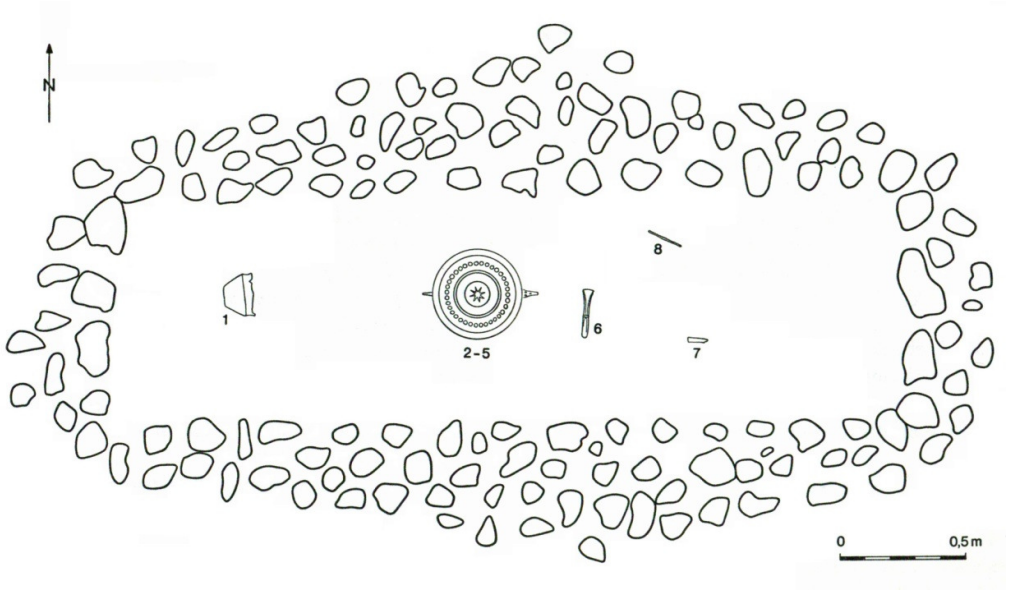
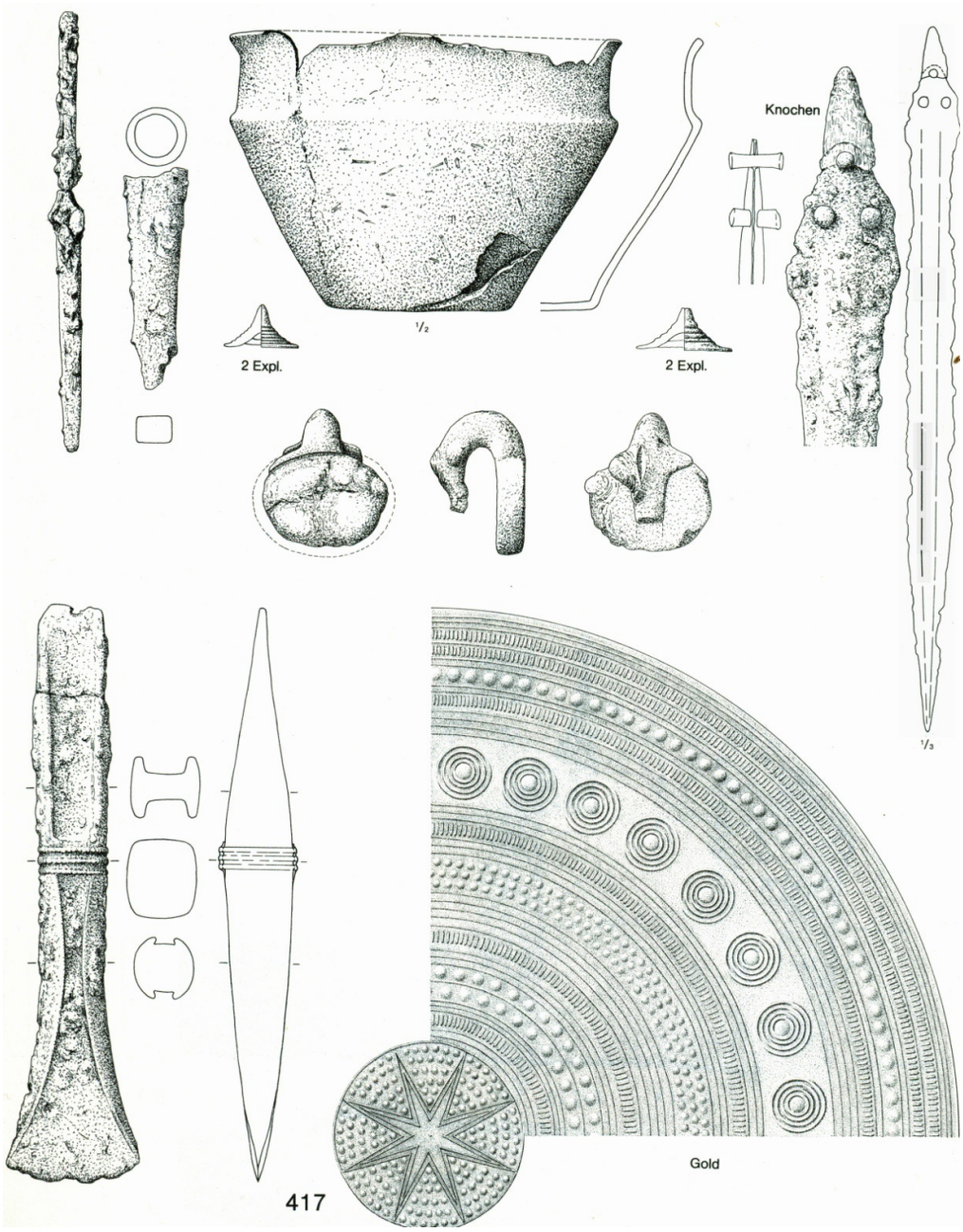


Figure 6.2: Graves A and B from Norby in southern Jylland typically interpreted as the double burial of two heteronormative males (after Aner & Kersten 1978: Abb.202).



A



B

Figure 6.3: Burial with sword and gold belt plate like disc from Jægersborg Hegn, København County, Sjælland, traditionally interpreted as having been a heteronormative male chief (A) and the mortuary equipment (B) (after Aner & Kersten 1973: 148 and Tafel 88).

Figure 6.4: The Trundholm Chariot with gold plated side of the disc facing out (after Mathiassen 1952: pl. 18, fig.199).

Appendix B

Table (2.1): Burial Table

Site ID	Burial No	Site Name	Region	County	Period	Receptacle	Burial Type	Sex	How Sexed	Sources
1	1	Bonderup	Zealand	Frederiksborg	III	Stone plaster	U	M	A	A&K-168
3	1	Grødby A	Bornholm	Bornholm	III	Stone cist	Cr	M	A	A&K-1487
3	2	Grødby B	Bornholm	Bornholm	U	Stone cist	Cr	F	A	A&K-1487
5	1	Billegravsgård C	Bornholm	Bornholm	U	Stone cist	In	U	U	A&K-1466
5	2	Billegravsgård F	Bornholm	Bornholm	II	Stone packing	In	F	A	A&K-1466
5	3	Billegravsgård G	Bornholm	Bornholm	II	Stone packing	In	M	A	A&K-1466
6	1	Åbygård A	Bornholm	Bornholm	II	Unknown	In	M	A	A&K-1503
7	1	Gerdrup	Zealand	København	II	Coffin	In	M	A	A&K-473
8	1	Herslev	Zealand	Holbæk	U	Stone packing	U	U	A	A&K-661
10	1	Hvidegård	Zealand	København	III	Stone cist	Cr	M	A	A&K-399
11	1	Hvilehøjgård	Zealand	Frederiksborg	III	Stone cist	Cr	M	A	A&K-155
12	1	Jægersborg Hegn	Zealand	København	II	Disintegrated coffin	In	M	A	A&K-417
12	2	Jægersborg Hegn	Zealand	København	LBA	Stone packing	Cr	U	U	A&K-417
13	2	Karlstrup	Zealand	København	II	Coffin	In	M	A	A&K-518
14	1	Løserup	Zealand	Holbæk	U	Stone plaster	Cr(?)	M	A	A&K-1075
17	1	Lille Dragshøj	Jutland	Tønder	II	Coffin	In	M	A	A&K-2878
18	1	Toppehøj	Jutland	Åbenrå	II	Coffin	In	M	A	A&K-3006
20	1	Nybøl	Jutland	Åbenrå	III	Coffin	In	M	S	A&K-3022
21	1	Skrydstrup A	Jutland	Haderslev	III	Coffin	In	F	S	A&K-3527
22	1	Vellerup	Zealand	Frederiksborg	II	Unknown	In	M	A	A&K-165

Site ID	Burial No	Site Name	Region	County	Period	Receptacle	Burial Type	Sex	How Sexed	Sources
23	1	Vallerødhøj	Zealand	Frederiksborg	II	Coffin	In	M	A	A&K-218
24	1	Ølby	Zealand	København	II	Coffin	In	F	A	A&K-299
25	1	Løfthøj	Zealand	København	III	Coffin	In	M	S	A&K-1163
26	1	Tårnholm A	Zealand	Sorø	II	Coffin	In	F	A	A&K-1163
26	2	Tårnholm B	Zealand	Sorø	II	Coffin	In	M	A	A&K-1163
26	3	Tårnholm C	Zealand	Sorø	III	Coffin	In	M	A	A&K-1163
27	1	Nøragerhøj	Jutland	Tønder	III	Coffin	In	M	A	A&K-2909
34	1	Gundslev	Falster	Maribo	III	Stone cist	In	U	A	A&K-1577
36	1	Gyldensgård A	Bornholm	Bornholm	II	Coffin	In	M	A	A&K-1548
40	1	Nordborg B	Jutland	Sønderborg	I	Coffin	In	M	A	A&K-3159
41	1	Oppe-Sundby	Zealand	Frederiksborg	U	Stone plaster	Cr	U	U	A&K-183
44	1	Smidstrupgård	Zealand	Frederiksborg	U	Stone packing	Cr	U	U	A&K-216
47	1	Vejby	Zealand	Frederiksborg	U	Stone packing	In	U	A	A&K-99
49	1	Petersdal	Zealand	København	II	Stone packing	In	M	A	A&K-444
49	2	Petersdal B	Zealand	København	II	Disintegrated coffin	In	M	A	A&K-444
50	1	Annisse	Zealand	Frederiksborg	II	Stone cist	In	U	U	A&K-1
51	1	Annisse	Zealand	Frederiksborg	II	Disintegrated coffin	In	M	A	A&K-6
52	1	Annisse	Zealand	Frederiksborg	EBA	Unknown	In	U	U	A&K-3
53	1	Annisse	Zealand	Frederiksborg	U	Stone cist	In	M	A	A&K-10
54	1	Bakkebjerg A	Zealand	Frederiksborg	II	Stone cist	In	U	U	A&K-14
55	1	Bakkebjerg C	Zealand	Frederiksborg	III	Stone packing	Cr	M	A	A&K-15
56	1	Bakkebjerg	Zealand	Frederiksborg	III	Stone packing	Cr	F	A	A&K-16
57	1	Bakkebjerg A	Zealand	Frederiksborg	LBA	Urn	Cr	U	U	A&K-17
58	1	Bakkebjerg	Zealand	Frederiksborg	U	Stone packing	In	U	U	A&K-18
59	1	Smidstrup A	Zealand	Frederiksborg	U	Urn	Cr	U	U	A&K-25
59	2	Smidstrup B	Zealand	Frederiksborg	U	Stone packing	U	U	U	A&K-25
60	1	Smidstrup B	Zealand	Frederiksborg	III	Stone packing	In	U	U	A&K-26

Site ID	Burial No	Site Name	Region	County	Period	Receptacle	Burial Type	Sex	How Sexed	Sources
60	2	Smidstrup C	Zealand	Frederiksborg	III	Unknown	In	M	A	A&K-26
61	1	Udshalt B	Zealand	Frederiksborg	EBA	Coffin	In	M	A	A&K-29
62	1	Gilleleje	Zealand	Frederiksborg	U	Urn	Cr	U	U	A&K-39
63	1	Lavø B	Zealand	Frederiksborg	EBA	Stone packing	Cr	U	U	A&K-51
64	1	Ramløse E	Zealand	Frederiksborg	LBA	Stone packing	Cr	U	U	A&K-57
65	1	Ramløse	Zealand	Frederiksborg	II	Coffin	In	M	A	A&K-58
66	1	Ramløse	Zealand	Frederiksborg	EBA	Stone packing	In	U	U	A&K-60
67	1	Ramløse	Zealand	Frederiksborg	III	Stone packing	Cr	M	A	A&K-65
68	1	Ramløse	Zealand	Frederiksborg	III	Stone packing	Cr	U	U	A&K-69
69	1	Passebæk	Zealand	Frederiksborg	III	Stone cist	In	M	A	A&K-84
70	1	Unnerup	Zealand	Frederiksborg	III	Stone cist	In	U	U	A&K-98
71	1	Vejby B	Zealand	Frederiksborg	EBA	Stone packing	Cr	M	A	A&K-102
93	1	Neder-Dråby	Zealand	Frederiksborg	EBA	Stone packing	Cr	U	U	A&K-125
94	1	Neder-Dråby	Zealand	Frederiksborg	III	Stone cist	Cr	U	U	A&K-126
95	1	Over-Dråby	Zealand	Frederiksborg	III	Stone cist	In	M	A	A&K-127
96	1	Skåningegårde	Zealand	Frederiksborg	EBA	Stone cist	Cr	M	A	A&K-129
97	1	Jægerspris	Zealand	Frederiksborg	LBA	Urn	Cr	U	U	A&K-109
98	1	Jægerspris C	Zealand	Frederiksborg	III	Stone packing	In	M	A	A&K-111
98	2	Jægerspris D	Zealand	Frederiksborg	LBA	Urn	Cr	U	U	A&K-111
99	1	Jægerspris B	Zealand	Frederiksborg	EBA	Stone packing	Cr	M	A	A&K-112
100	1	Ferslev	Zealand	Frederiksborg	II	Stone packing	In	F	A	A&K-131
101	1	Vejleby	Zealand	Frederiksborg	III	Coffin	In	M	A	A&K-133
102	1	Gerlev	Zealand	Frederiksborg	III	Stone cist	Cr	M	A	A&K-141
103	1	Kyndby	Zealand	Frederiksborg	II	Stone packing	In	M	A	A&K-148
104	1	Østby	Zealand	Frederiksborg	U	Stone cist	In(?)	M	A	A&K-151
105	1	Østby	Zealand	Frederiksborg	III	Stone cist	Cr	M	A	A&K-154
106	1	Bonderup	Zealand	Frederiksborg	EBA	Stone cist	In	M	A	A&K-167

Site ID	Burial No	Site Name	Region	County	Period	Receptacle	Burial Type	Sex	How Sexed	Sources
107	1	Græse	Zealand	Frederiksborg	III	Coffin	In	F	A	A&K-170
108	1	Græse C	Zealand	Frederiksborg	III	Stone packing	In	M	A	A&K-171
109	1	Kalundborg A	Zealand	Holbæk	II	Stone packing	In	U	U	A&K-602
109	2	Kalundborg E	Zealand	Holbæk	II	Unknown	In	M	S	A&K-602
110	1	Uggerløse	Zealand	Holbæk	EBA	Stone cist	In	M	A	A&K-620
111	1	Uggerløse	Zealand	Holbæk	EBA	Disintegrated coffin	In	M	A	A&K-622
112	1	Store-Fuglede	Zealand	Holbæk	II	Disintegrated coffin	In	M	A	A&K-625
113	1	Svallerup A	Zealand	Holbæk	III	Stone cist	Cr	M	A	A&K-626
114	1	Svallerup D	Zealand	Holbæk	II	Stone cist	Cr	F	A	A&K-626
115	1	Ubby A1	Zealand	Holbæk	II	Stone packing	In	U	U	A&K-645
115	2	Ubby C	Zealand	Holbæk	U	Stone packing	In	U	U	A&K-645
115	3	Ubby O	Zealand	Holbæk	III	Stone cist	Cr	U	U	A&K-645
116	1	Ubberup	Zealand	Holbæk	III	Stone cist	Cr	M	A	A&K-634
117	1	Asnæs B	Zealand	Holbæk	III	Stone packing	Cr	M	A	A&K-649
118	1	Bastrup Sønderstrand	Zealand	Holbæk	EBA	Stone cist	In	M	A	A&K-654
119	1	Sæby B	Zealand	Holbæk	EBA	Stone packing	In	U	U	A&K-658I
120	1	Rye F	Zealand	Holbæk	EBA	Disintegrated coffin	In	U	U	A&K-668
122	1	Eriksholm A	Zealand	Holbæk	EBA	Unknown	In	U	U	A&K-715
123	1	Borrevang	Zealand	Holbæk	III	Unknown	Cr	M	A	A&K-758
124	1	Høve A	Zealand	Holbæk	II	Disintegrated coffin	Cr	M	A	A&K-761
124	2	Høve B	Zealand	Holbæk	II	Disintegrated coffin	U	F	A	A&K-761
125	1	Hølkerup	Zealand	Holbæk	LBA	Urn	Cr	U	U	A&K-778
125	2	Hølkerup	Zealand	Holbæk	LBA	Urn	Cr	U	U	A&K-778
125	3	Hølkerup	Zealand	Holbæk	LBA	Urn	Cr	U	U	A&K-778
125	4	Hølkerup	Zealand	Holbæk	LBA	Urn	Cr	U	U	A&K-778
126	1	Dragsholm A	Zealand	Holbæk	III	Stone cist	Cr	U	U	A&K-781
126	2	Dragsholm D	Zealand	Holbæk	II	Stone packing	In	M	A	A&K-781

Site ID	Burial No	Site Name	Region	County	Period	Receptacle	Burial Type	Sex	How Sexed	Sources
127	1	Ordrup A	Zealand	Holbæk	II	Disintegrated coffin	In	U	U	A&K-793
127	2	Ordrup B	Zealand	Holbæk	EBA	Disintegrated coffin	In	M	A	A&K-793
127	3	Ordrup F	Zealand	Holbæk	II	Unknown	In	F	A	A&K-793
128	1	Ris	Zealand	Holbæk	III	Stone cist	Cr	M	A	A&K-800
129	1	Ris	Zealand	Holbæk	III	Stone cist	Cr	M	A	A&K-801
130	1	Ris	Zealand	Holbæk	III	Stone cist	Cr	M	A	A&K-802
131	1	Veddinge	Zealand	Holbæk	III	Stone cist	Cr	U	U	A&K-805
132	1	Veddinge	Zealand	Holbæk	III	Stone cist	Cr	U	U	A&K-806
133	1	Veddinge	Zealand	Holbæk	III	Stone cist	In	U	U	A&K-809
134	1	Engelstrup	Zealand	Holbæk	LBA	Urn	Cr	U	U	A&K-813
135	1	Grevinge	Zealand	Holbæk	I	Stone cist	In	U	U	A&K-814
136	1	Grevinge	Zealand	Holbæk	III	Urn	Cr	U	U	A&K-815
137	1	Gundestrup	Zealand	Holbæk	EBA	Stone cist	Cr	U	U	A&K-821
138	1	Gundestrup	Zealand	Holbæk	III	Stone cist	In	M	A	A&K-822
139	1	Herrestrup	Zealand	Holbæk	EBA	Stone cist	Cr	U	U	A&K-823
140	1	Ebbelykke	Zealand	Holbæk	EBA	Stone cist	In	M	A	A&K-827
141	1	Holmstrup	Zealand	Holbæk	EBA	Stone cist	Cr	U	U	A&K-836
142	1	Højby	Zealand	Holbæk	EBA	Stone cist	In	U	U	A&K-840
143	1	Højby	Zealand	Holbæk	III	Stone cist	In	U	U	A&K-844
144	1	Højby	Zealand	Holbæk	II	Stone cist	Cr	U	U	A&K-846
145	1	Nygård	Zealand	Holbæk	III	Stone cist	Cr	F	A	A&K-859
146	1	Nygård	Zealand	Holbæk	EBA	Stone cist	In	U	U	A&K-861
147	1	Stenstrup	Zealand	Holbæk	II	Unknown	In	F	A	A&K-866
148	1	Overby Lyng	Zealand	Holbæk	EBA	Disintegrated coffin	In	U	U	A&K-875
149	1	Hønsinge	Zealand	Holbæk	III	Stone cist	Cr	M	A	A&K-889
150	1	Hønsinge D	Zealand	Holbæk	LBA	Stone cist	Cr	U	U	A&K-890
151	1	Hønsinge A	Zealand	Holbæk	III	Stone cist	Cr	M	A	A&K-891

Site ID	Burial No	Site Name	Region	County	Period	Receptacle	Burial Type	Sex	How Sexed	Sources
152	1	Hønsinge C	Zealand	Holbæk	III	Stone cist	Cr	U	U	A&K-892
152	2	Hønsinge F	Zealand	Holbæk	LBA	Stone cist	Cr	U	U	A&K-892
152	3	Hønsinge G	Zealand	Holbæk	III	Stone cist	Cr	M	A	A&K-892
153	1	Hønsinge Huse C	Zealand	Holbæk	III	Stone plaster	In	M	A	A&K-901
154	1	Jyderup	Zealand	Holbæk	U	Stone cist	Cr	U	U	A&K-902
155	1	Vig	Zealand	Holbæk	III	Dolmen	In	M	A	A&K-914
156	1	Vig	Zealand	Holbæk	III	Stone cist	Cr	U	U	A&K-915
157	1	Hårdmark C	Zealand	Holbæk	III	Stone cist	Cr	U	U	A&K-931
157	2	Hårdmark D	Zealand	Holbæk	III	Stone cist	Cr	U	U	A&K-931
158	1	Permelille	Zealand	Holbæk	II	Unknown	In	F	A	A&K-938
159	1	Bisgård A	Zealand	Holbæk	III	Stone cist	In	M	A	A&K-942
159	2	Bisgård B	Zealand	Holbæk	LBA	Stone cist	Cr	U	U	A&K-942
159	3	Bisgård C	Zealand	Holbæk	LBA	Stone cist	Cr	U	U	A&K-942
159	4	Bisgård D	Zealand	Holbæk	III	Stone cist	Cr	M	A	A&K-942
160	1	Henriksholm	Zealand	Holbæk	II	Unknown	In	M	S	A&K-967
161	1	Hagendrup	Zealand	Holbæk	II	Stone packing	In	F	A	A&K-976
162	1	Vesterlyngen B	Zealand	Holbæk	LBA	Urn	Cr	U	U	A&K-981
162	2	Vesterlyngen C	Zealand	Holbæk	LBA	Urn	Cr	U	U	A&K-981
162	3	Vesterlyngen E	Zealand	Holbæk	LBA	Urn	Cr	U	U	A&K-981
162	4	Vesterlyngen F	Zealand	Holbæk	LBA	Urn	Cr	U	U	A&K-981
162	5	Vesterlyngen G	Zealand	Holbæk	LBA	Stone packing	Cr	U	U	A&K-981
162	6	Vesterlyngen H	Zealand	Holbæk	III	Stone packing	Cr	U	U	A&K-981
163	1	Føllenslev B	Zealand	Holbæk	LBA	Urn	Cr	U	U	A&K-983
164	1	Tjørnmark A	Zealand	Holbæk	LBA	Stone cist	Cr	U	U	A&K-988
164	2	Tjørnmark D	Zealand	Holbæk	U	Stone packing	In	F	A	A&K-988
165	1	Kilshoved A	Zealand	Holbæk	II	Coffin	In	F	A	A&K-997
166	1	Kilshoved	Zealand	Holbæk	II	Stone cist	In	F	A	A&K-998

Site ID	Burial No	Site Name	Region	County	Period	Receptacle	Burial Type	Sex	How Sexed	Sources
167	1	Snertinge	Zealand	Holbæk	III	Stone cist	Cr	U	U	A&K-1005
168	1	Særslev B	Zealand	Holbæk	EBA	Stone packing	In	M	A	A&K-1008
168	2	Særslev C	Zealand	Holbæk	II	Stone packing	In	U	U	A&K-1008
169	1	Birkendegård A	Zealand	Holbæk	II	Stone cist	In	M	A	A&K-1013
170	1	Værslev	Zealand	Holbæk	EBA	Stone cist	In	M	A	A&K-1015
171	1	Gilingegård	Zealand	Holbæk	EBA	Stone cist	Cr	U	U	A&K-1019
172	1	NY-Hagested	Zealand	Holbæk	II	Unknown	In	M	A	A&K-1029
173	1	Hørbygård	Zealand	Holbæk	II	Disintegrated coffin	In	M	A	A&K-1031
174	1	Uglerup Huse B	Zealand	Holbæk	EBA	Stone cist	In	U	U	A&K-1037
175	1	Uglerup Huse A	Zealand	Holbæk	II	Disintegrated coffin	In	M	A	A&K-1038
176	1	Hegnårde C	Zealand	Holbæk	LBA	Unknown	Cr	U	U	A&K-1049
176	2	Hegnårde D	Zealand	Holbæk	LBA	Urn	Cr	U	U	A&K-1049
177	1	Allerupgård	Zealand	Holbæk	III	Stone cist	Cr	M	A	A&K-1058
178	1	Allerup A	Zealand	Holbæk	III	Stone cist	Cr	M	A	A&K-1060
179	1	Allerup A	Zealand	Holbæk	III	Stone cist	In	U	U	A&K-1061
179	2	Allerup B	Zealand	Holbæk	LBA	Stone cist	Cr	U	U	A&K-1061
180	1	Tuse	Zealand	Holbæk	III	Coffin	Cr	M	A	A&K-1066
181	1	Tuse Låge B	Zealand	Holbæk	EBA	Disintegrated coffin	In	U	U	A&K-1067
181	2	Tuse Låge C	Zealand	Holbæk	EBA	Disintegrated coffin	In	U	U	A&K-1067
182	1	Kisserup	Zealand	Holbæk	III	Stone cist	Cr	M	A	A&K-1071
183	1	Løserup	Zealand	Holbæk	LBA	Urn	Cr	U	U	A&K-1075
184	1	Løserup	Zealand	Holbæk	II	Unknown	In	F	A	A&K-1076
185	1	Løserup	Zealand	Holbæk	II	Stone packing	In	F	A	A&K-1077
186	1	Løserup	Zealand	Holbæk	II	Coffin	In	M	A	A&K-1078
187	1	Løserup	Zealand	Holbæk	III	Stone packing	In	U	U	A&K-1079
188	1	Estrup G	Zealand	Sorø	III	Stone packing	Cr	F	A	A&K-1092
189	1	Haraldsted A	Zealand	Sorø	II	Stone packing	In	M	A	A&K-1093

Site ID	Burial No	Site Name	Region	County	Period	Receptacle	Burial Type	Sex	How Sexed	Sources
189	2	Haraldsted B	Zealand	Sorø	II	Stone packing	In	M	A	A&K-1093
190	1	Haraldsted	Zealand	Sorø	III	Coffin	In	M	A	A&K-1094
191	1	Haraldsted	Zealand	Sorø	I	Unknown	In	M	A	A&K-1095
192	1	Kværkeby B	Zealand	Sorø	U	Stone packing	In	U	U	A&K-1104
192	2	Kværkeby F	Zealand	Sorø	LBA	Urn	Cr	U	U	A&K-1104
193	1	Hejninge	Zealand	Sorø	EBA	Unknown	In	U	U	A&K-1128
194	1	Stude	Zealand	Sorø	EBA	Stone packing	In	F	A	A&K-1132
195	1	Stude	Zealand	Sorø	II	Coffin	In	U	U	A&K-1134
196	1	Kirke-stillinge	Zealand	Sorø	U	Urn	Cr	U	U	A&K-1135
196	2	Kirke-stillinge A	Zealand	Sorø	II	Stone packing	In	F	A	A&K-1135
196	3	Kirke-stillinge B	Zealand	Sorø	II	Coffin	In	M	A	A&K-1135
197	1	Kirke-stillinge	Zealand	Sorø	II	Stone cist	In	U	U	A&K-1136
198	1	Bonderup	Zealand	Sorø	III	Stone cist	Cr	U	U	A&K-1157
199	1	Stubager	Zealand	Sorø	EBA	Stone cist	In	U	U	A&K-1159
200	1	Tårnholm	Zealand	Sorø	EBA	Stone cist	In	M	A	A&K-1162
202	1	Forlev A1	Zealand	Sorø	IV	Stone packing	Cr	U	U	A&K-1166
202	2	Forlev A2	Zealand	Sorø	III	Coffin	Cr	U	U	A&K-1166
202	3	Forlev C	Zealand	Sorø	LBA	Stone plaster	Cr	U	U	A&K-1166
202	4	Forlev G	Zealand	Sorø	LBA	Stone cist	Cr	U	U	A&K-1166
203	1	Båslunde	Zealand	Sorø	II	Stone cist	In	M	A	A&K-1172
204	1	Borroby B	Zealand	Sorø	III	Unknown	In	M	A	A&K-1187
205	1	Nordgård	Zealand	Sorø	EBA	Unknown	In	U	U	A&K-1191
206	1	Sønder-Bjerge B	Zealand	Sorø	III	Unknown	Cr	U	U	A&K-1198
207	1	Stenbæksholm A	Zealand	Sorø	II	Unknown	In	F	A	A&K-1208
208	1	Hårlev C	Zealand	Præsto	II	Coffin	In	M	A	A&K-1227
208	2	Hårlev D	Zealand	Præsto	EBA	Coffin	In	U	U	A&K-1227
209	1	Lille-Tårnby A	Zealand	Præsto	III	Stone cist	In	M	A	A&K-1228

Site ID	Burial No	Site Name	Region	County	Period	Receptacle	Burial Type	Sex	How Sexed	Sources
209	2	Lille-Tårnby B	Zealand	Præsto	LBA	Stone packing	Cr	U	U	A&K-1228
209	3	Lille-Tårnby C	Zealand	Præsto	LBA	Stone packing	Cr	U	U	A&K-1228
210	1	Valløby	Zealand	Præsto	II	Stone packing	In	M	A	A&K-1231
211	1	Stenstrup	Zealand	Præsto	II	Dolmen	In	U	U	A&K-1247
212	1	Balle	Zealand	Præsto	EBA	Stone cist	Cr	U	U	A&K-1249
213	1	Kalvehave B	Zealand	Præsto	III	Stone cist	Cr	M	A	A&K-1251
214	1	Stensby	Zealand	Præsto	II	Unknown	In	U	U	A&K-1256
215	1	Smidstrup Hovgård A	Zealand	Præsto	II	Disintegrated coffin	In	F	A	A&K-1264
216	1	Skallerup	Zealand	Præsto	III	Bronze cauldron-wagon	Cr	M	A	A&K-1269
217	1	Ørslev A	Zealand	Præsto	II	Stone packing	In	U	U	A&K-1274
217	2	Ørslev B	Zealand	Præsto	III	Stone packing	In	F	A	A&K-1274
218	1	Skovhuse	Zealand	Præsto	III	Stone cist	Cr	U	U	A&K-1276
219	1	Over-Vindinge	Zealand	Præsto	III	Stone cist	In	M	A	A&K-1290
220	1	Over-Vindinge	Zealand	Præsto	III	Stone packing	Cr	F	U	A&K-1291
221	1	Hårbølle	Zealand	Præsto	EBA	Unknown	In	M	S	A&K-1320
222	1	Hårbølle	Zealand	Præsto	II	Coffin (plank)	In	M	A	A&K-1321
223	1	Keldbymagle A	Zealand	Præsto	LBA	Stone cist	Cr	U	U	A&K-1332
223	2	Keldbymagle B	Zealand	Præsto	LBA	Urn	Cr	U	U	A&K-1332
223	3	Keldbymagle C	Zealand	Præsto	LBA	Urn	Cr	U	U	A&K-1332
223	4	Keldbymagle D	Zealand	Præsto	EBA	Unknown	In	U	U	A&K-1332
223	5	Keldbymagle F	Zealand	Præsto	II	Stone plaster	In	M	A	A&K-1332
223	6	Keldbymagle J	Zealand	Præsto	II	Unknown	Cr	F	A	A&K-1332
224	1	Holtug	Zealand	Præsto	EBA	Unknown	In	U	U	A&K-1355
225	1	Strandfogedgård A	Zealand	Præsto	II	Coffin	In	M	A	A&K-1357 I
225	2	Strandfogedgård E	Zealand	Præsto	U	Disintegrated coffin	In	U	U	A&K-1357 I
225	3	Strandfogedgård F	Zealand	Præsto	II	Disintegrated coffin	In	F	A	A&K-1357 I

Site ID	Burial No	Site Name	Region	County	Period	Receptacle	Burial Type	Sex	How Sexed	Sources
225	4	Strandfogedgård G	Zealand	Præsto	U	Disintegrated coffin	In	U	U	A&K-1357 I
226	1	Store-Torøje	Zealand	Præsto	EBA	Unknown	In	M	A	A&K-1366
227	1	Kræmergårde	Zealand	Præsto	EBA	Stone packing	In	U	U	A&K-1371
228	1	Sigerslev	Zealand	Præsto	II	Stone cist	In	M	A	A&K-1373
229	1	Strøby Ladeplads	Zealand	Præsto	EBA	Unknown	In	U	U	A&K-1381
230	1	Varpelev	Zealand	Præsto	III	Stone packing	Cr	F	A	A&K-1384
231	1	Skelby	Zealand	Præsto	EBA	Unknown	In	M	A	A&K-1393
233	1	Nygård	Bornholm	Bornholm	III	Stone packing	Cr	F	A	A&K-1448
234	1	Sigård	Bornholm	Bornholm	III	Stone cist	Cr	M	A	A&K-1450
235	1	Sandvig A	Bornholm	Bornholm	III	Stone cist	Cr	U	U	A&K-1456
235	2	Sandvig B	Bornholm	Bornholm	III	Stone cist	Cr	U	U	A&K-1456
235	3	Sandvig C	Bornholm	Bornholm	III	Stone cist	Cr	U	U	A&K1456
236	1	Sandvig	Bornholm	Bornholm	II	Stone packing	In	M	A	A&K-1457
237	1	Tejn D	Bornholm	Bornholm	EBA	Soft earth	In	F	A	A&K-1459
238	1	Stammershalle B	Bornholm	Bornholm	III	Unknown	Cr	U	U	A&K-1464
238	2	Stammershalle C	Bornholm	Bornholm	III	Unknown	U	F	A	A&K-1464
238	3	Stammershalle D	Bornholm	Bornholm	LBA	Stone packing	Cr	U	U	A&K-1464
239	1	Alhøj A	Bornholm	Bornholm	II	Stone packing	In	U	U	A&K-1465
240	1	Billegravsgård A	Bornholm	Bornholm	III	Unknown	In	M	A	A&K-1468
241	1	Boesgård	Bornholm	Bornholm	III	Stone cist	Cr	U	U	A&K-1469
242	1	Munkevang	Bornholm	Bornholm	III	Stone packing	Cr	F	A	A&K-1472
243	1	Slusegård	Bornholm	Bornholm	III	Stone packing	In	M	A	A&K-1475
244	1	Store-Loftsgård D	Bornholm	Bornholm	III	Stone plaster	In	U		A&K-1477
244	2	Store-Loftsgård E	Bornholm	Bornholm	III	Stone packing	In	M	A	A&K-1477
244	3	Store-Loftsgård G	Bornholm	Bornholm	III	Stone plaster	Cr	U	U	A&K-1477
244	4	Store-Loftsgård O	Bornholm	Bornholm	U	Urn	Cr	U	U	A&K-1477
244	5	Store-Loftsgård A	Bornholm	Bornholm	III	Stone packing	Cr	U	U	A&K-1477

Site ID	Burial No	Site Name	Region	County	Period	Receptacle	Burial Type	Sex	How Sexed	Sources
244	6	Store-Loftsgård B	Bornholm	Bornholm	III	Stone packing	Cr	U	U	A&K-1477
244	7	Store-Loftsgård C	Bornholm	Bornholm	III	Stone cist	Cr	U	U	A&K-1477
244	8	Store-Loftsgård A	Bornholm	Bornholm	III	Stone cist	Cr	M	A	A&K-1477
244	9	Store-Loftsgård D	Bornholm	Bornholm	III	Stone packing	Cr	U	U	A&K-1477
245	1	Degnegård B	Bornholm	Bornholm	III	Stone packing	Cr	F	A	A&K-1481
246	1	Jomfrugård A	Bornholm	Bornholm	II	Coffin (plank)	In	F	A	A&K-1482
246	2	Jomfrugård C	Bornholm	Bornholm	EBA	Coffin (plank)	In	F	A	A&K-1482
246	3	Jomfrugård E	Bornholm	Bornholm	II	Coffin	In	U	U	A&K-1482
246	4	Jomfrugård F	Bornholm	Bornholm	II	Coffin	In	M	A	A&K-1482
246	5	Jomfrugård M	Bornholm	Bornholm	II	Coffin (plank)	In	F	A	A&K-1482
246	6	Jomfrugård Q	Bornholm	Bornholm	III	Coffin (plank)	In	U	U	A&K-1482
246	7	Jomfrugård R	Bornholm	Bornholm	EBA	Coffin (plank)	In	U	U	A&K-1482
246	8	Jomfrugård T	Bornholm	Bornholm	EBA	Coffin (plank)	In	U	U	A&K-1482
247	1	Lillegård	Bornholm	Bornholm	U	Unknown	In	M	A	A&K-1484
248	1	Grødby	Bornholm	Bornholm	II	Stone cist	In	U	U	A&K-1486
249	1	Grødby A	Bornholm	Bornholm	III	Stone cist	Cr	M	A	A&K-1487
249	2	Grødby B	Bornholm	Bornholm	III	Stone cist	Cr	F	A	A&K-1487
250	1	Lille-Bukkegård	Bornholm	Bornholm	III	Stone packing	Cr	M	A	A&K-1489
251	1	Lille-Duegård	Bornholm	Bornholm	III	Stone cist	Cr	F	A	A&K-1490
252	1	Limensgård A	Bornholm	Bornholm	II	Disintegrated coffin	In	M	A	A&K-1492
253	1	Store-Munkeggård B	Bornholm	Bornholm	EBA	Stone cist	In	F	A	A&K-1494 I
253	2	Store-Munkeggård A	Bornholm	Bornholm	LBA	Urn	Cr	U	U	A&K-1494 I
254	1	Vasagård A	Bornholm	Bornholm	II	Unknown	Cr	M	A	A&K-1496
254	2	Vasagård B	Bornholm	Bornholm	EBA	Unknown	Cr	U	U	A&K-1496
255	1	Blykobbegård A	Bornholm	Bornholm	III	Stone cist	Cr	M	A	A&K-1500
255	2	Blykobbegård B	Bornholm	Bornholm	III	Stone cist	Cr	M	A	A&K-1500
256	1	Lillegård	Bornholm	Bornholm	III	Stone packing	Cr	U	U	A&K-1501

Site ID	Burial No	Site Name	Region	County	Period	Receptacle	Burial Type	Sex	How Sexed	Sources
257	1	Tornegård	Bornholm	Bornholm	III	Stone packing	Cr	M	A	A&K-1502
258	1	Øster-Åbygård B	Bornholm	Bornholm	III	Disintegrated coffin	In	M	A	A&K-1504
259	1	Lille-Strandbygård	Bornholm	Bornholm	III	Unknown	Cr	F	A	A&K-1507
260	1	Store-Strandbygård	Bornholm	Bornholm	II	Stone cist	In	M	A	A&K-1513
261	1	Næbbe Odde	Bornholm	Bornholm	III	Disintegrated coffin	Cr	M	A	A&K-1516
262	1	Rønne Frihed	Bornholm	Bornholm	III	Stone cist	Cr	U	U	A&K-1518
263	1	Nygård	Bornholm	Bornholm	III	Stone cist	Cr	U	U	A&K-1521
264	1	Sosegård B	Bornholm	Bornholm	III	Stone packing	Cr	M	A	A&K-1522
265	1	Skovsholm F	Bornholm	Bornholm	II	Stone cist	In	M	A	A&K-1526
266	1	Sortegård C	Bornholm	Bornholm	III	Stone cist	Cr	M	A	A&K-1527
267	1	Bobbegård	Bornholm	Bornholm	III	Stone cist	Cr	M	A	A&K-1528
268	1	Hallegård	Bornholm	Bornholm	EBA	Disintegrated coffin	In	F	A	A&K-1531
269	1	Hallegård	Bornholm	Bornholm	III	Stone cist	Cr	M	A	A&K-1532
270	1	Lousgård	Bornholm	Bornholm	II	Urn	Cr	U	U	A&K-1533
271	1	Lousgård	Bornholm	Bornholm	EBA	Soft earth	Cr	U	U	A&K-1534
272	1	Melsted	Bornholm	Bornholm	III	Urn	Cr	U	U	A&K-1537
273	1	Melsted	Bornholm	Bornholm	III	Stone packing	In	M	A	A&K-1539
274	1	Nørre-Sandegård	Bornholm	Bornholm	EBA	Stone cist	Cr	M	A	A&K-1542
275	1	Buskegård	Bornholm	Bornholm	EBA	Stone packing	In	F	A	A&K-1546
276	1	Cyldensgård	Bornholm	Bornholm	EBA	Stone packing	Cr	U	U	A&K-1550
277	1	Ravnsgård	Bornholm	Bornholm	EBA	Stone cist	In	F	A	A&K-1551
278	1	Ypnastedgård	Bornholm	Bornholm	II	Stone packing	In	M	A	A&K-1555
279	1	Skovby	Lolland	Maribo	EBA	Stone plaster	In	M	A	A&K-1579
280	1	Sølvhøjgård A	Lolland	Maribo	EBA	Disintegrated coffin	In	U	U	A&K-1590
281	1	Marrebæk	Lolland	Maribo	II	Unknown	In	M	A	A&K-1615
282	1	Væggerløse Kirke	Lolland	Maribo	II	Unknown	Cr	M	A	A&K-1616
283	1	Birket A	Lolland	Maribo	III	Stone packing	Cr	M	A	A&K-1642

Site ID	Burial No	Site Name	Region	County	Period	Receptacle	Burial Type	Sex	How Sexed	Sources
284	1	Birket B	Lolland	Maribo	III	Disintegrated coffin	Cr	M	A	A&K-1643
285	1	Birket	Lolland	Maribo	III	Stone plaster	In	U	U	A&K-1644
286	1	Birket	Lolland	Maribo	III	Stone packing	Cr	U	U	A&K-1645
287	1	Birket B	Lolland	Maribo	III	Stone packing	Cr	U	U	A&K-1646
288	1	Birket B	Lolland	Maribo	III	Stone packing	Cr	M	A	A&K-1649
288	2	Birket C	Lolland	Maribo	III	Stone packing	Cr	U	U	A&K-1649
288	3	Birket D	Lolland	Maribo	III	Stone packing	Cr	U	U	A&K-1649
288	4	Birket Fc	Lolland	Maribo	IV	Stone packing	Cr	U	U	A&K-1649
289	1	Ravnsby A	Lolland	Maribo	II	Disintegrated coffin	In	F	A	A&K-1655
289	2	Ravnsby D	Lolland	Maribo	III	Stone packing	Cr	M	A	A&K-1655
289	3	Ravnsby F	Lolland	Maribo	U	Urn	Cr	U	U	A&K-1655
290	1	Ravnsby A	Lolland	Maribo	III	Disintegrated coffin	Cr	F	A	A&K-1657
290	2	Ravnsby B	Lolland	Maribo	III	Disintegrated coffin	Cr	U	U	A&K-1657
291	1	Ravnsby A	Lolland	Maribo	II	Stone packing	In	M	A	A&K-1658
292	1	Blans	Lolland	Maribo	III	Coffin	Cr	M	A	A&K-1670
293	1	Keldernæs A	Lolland	Maribo	LBA	Urn	Cr	U	U	A&K-1672
293	2	Keldernæs G	Lolland	Maribo	III	Stone packing	Cr	U	U	A&K-1672
294	1	Frejlev	Lolland	Maribo	U	Stone packing	In	M	A	A&K-1689
295	1	Frejlev C	Lolland	Maribo	II	Stone packing	In	M	A	A&K-1690
296	1	Kettinge A	Lolland	Maribo	EBA	Disintegrated coffin	Cr	U	U	A&K-1693
296	2	Kettinge D	Lolland	Maribo	LBA	Stone packing	Cr	U	U	A&K-1693
297	1	Cypressgård	Lolland	Maribo	U	Stone packing	Cr	U	U	A&K-1705
297	2	Cypressgård	Lolland	Maribo	U	Stone packing	Cr	U	U	A&K-1705
297	3	Cypressgård	Lolland	Maribo	U	Stone packing	Cr	U	U	A&K-1705
297	4	Cypressgård A	Lolland	Maribo	U	Stone packing	Cr	U	U	A&K-1705
297	5	Cypressgård B	Lolland	Maribo	U	Stone packing	Cr	U	U	A&K-1705
297	6	Cypressgård D	Lolland	Maribo	U	Stone packing	Cr	U	U	A&K-1705

Site ID	Burial No	Site Name	Region	County	Period	Receptacle	Burial Type	Sex	How Sexed	Sources
297	7	Cypressgård E	Lolland	Maribo	U	Stone packing	Cr	U	U	A&K-1705
298	1	Rørbæk E	Lolland	Maribo	III	Coffin	Cr	M	A	A&K-1706
299	1	Munkebo	Funen	Odense	II	Disintegrated coffin	In	M	A	A&K-1724
300	1	Munkebo	Funen	Odense	EBA	Stone plaster	In	U	U	A&K-1725
301	1	Lundsgård	Funen	Odense	II	Unknown	In	U	U	A&K-1726 I
302	1	Bøgebjerg	Funen	Odense	III	Stone cist	Cr	U	U	A&K-1732
303	1	Stærup A	Funen	Odense	III	Stone cist	Cr	M	A	A&K-1744
304	1	Høed A	Funen	Odense	III	Unknown	Cr	M	A	A&K-1748
305	1	Voldtofte B	Funen	Odense	U	Stone packing	Cr	U	U	A&K-1752
306	1	Voldbro	Funen	Odense	EBA	Under large stone	In	M	A	A&K-1765
307	1	Strandby	Funen	Odense	EBA	Stone packing	In	U	U	A&K-1770
308	1	Lundegård A	Funen	Odense	II	Stone cist	In	M	A	A&K-1793
308	2	Lundegård B	Funen	Odense	U	Stone packing	Cr	M	A	A&K-1793
309	1	Lumby	Funen	Odense	II	Unknown	In	M	A	A&K-1808
310	1	Kirchspiel Lund oder Ostrup	Funen	Odense	III	Unknown	U	U	U	A&K-1815 I
311	1	Hasmark Vestermark B	Funen	Odense	II	Disintegrated coffin	In	F	A	A&K-1818
312	1	Hasmark	Funen	Odense	II	Disintegrated coffin	In	M	A	A&K-1820
313	1	Borrebygård	Funen	Odense	II	Stone packing	Cr	M	A	A&K-1834
314	1	Kratholmgård B	Funen	Odense	II	Disintegrated coffin	In	F	A	A&K-1846
315	1	Bastrup Huse	Funen	Odense	III	Stone cist	Cr	M	A	A&K-1871
316	1	Glavendrup D	Funen	Odense	III	Stone cist	Cr	U	U	A&K-1874
317	1	Brandholt A	Funen	Odense	II	Disintegrated coffin	In	F	A	A&K-1889
318	1	Lumbygård	Funen	Odense	EBA	Disintegrated coffin	In	F	A	A&K-1943
319	1	Rågelund B	Funen	Maribo	III	Disintegrated coffin	Cr	F	A	A&K-1960
319	2	Rågelund C	Funen	Maribo	II	Stone packing	In	M	A	A&K-1960
320	1	Store-Salby C	Zealand	København	LBA	Stone packing	Cr	U	U	A&K-297

Site ID	Burial No	Site Name	Region	County	Period	Receptacle	Burial Type	Sex	How Sexed	Sources
320	2	Store-Salby D	Zealand	København	III	Stone packing	In	M	A	A&K-297
320	3	Store-Salby F	Zealand	København	III	Stone packing	In	M	A	A&K-297
320	4	Store-Salby G	Zealand	København	III	Stone packing	In	M	A	A&K-297
321	1	Køge	Zealand	København	II	Coffin	In	M	A	A&K-303
322	1	Ågerup B	Zealand	København	U	Stone cist	Cr	U	U	A&K-312
323	1	Brøndbyvester A	Zealand	København	II	Disintegrated coffin	In	U	U	A&K-313
323	2	Brøndbyvester C	Zealand	København	II	Disintegrated coffin	In	F	A	A&K-313
324	1	Brøndbyvester	Zealand	København	U	Disintegrated coffin	In	F	A	A&K-314
325	1	Vridslrøselille	Zealand	København	II	Disintegrated coffin	In	M	A	A&K-320
326	1	Baldersbronde	Zealand	København	LBA	Urn	Cr	U	U	A&K-322
327	1	Hedehuse A	Zealand	København	LBA	Unknown	Cr	U	U	A&K-325
327	2	Hedehuse D	Zealand	København	LBA	Unknown	Cr	U	U	A&K-325
328	1	Ishøj	Zealand	København	II	Unknown	Cr	M	A	A&K-329
329	1	Vridslosemagle	Zealand	København	I	Stone packing	In	M	A	A&K-343
330	1	Smorumnedre B	Zealand	København	III	Stone cist	Cr	U	U	A&K-348
331	1	Smorumnedre B	Zealand	København	II	Stone packing	In	M	A	A&K-350
332	1	Smorumnedre	Zealand	København	II	Stone packing	In	F	A	A&K-351
333	1	Smorumnedre	Zealand	København	III	Disintegrated coffin	Cr	M	A	A&K-352
334	1	Vallensbæk	Zealand	København	EBA	Unknown	In	M	A	A&K-358
335	1	Kirke-Vjerløse	Zealand	København	U	Stone packing	Cr	U	U	A&K-362
336	1	Jægersborg	Zealand	København	III	Stone packing	In	M	A	A&K-369
337	1	Bagsværd A	Zealand	København	LBA	Urn	Cr	U	U	A&K-378
337	2	Bagsværd C	Zealand	København	III	Stone packing	In	F	A	A&K-378
338	1	Buddinge	Zealand	København	II	Coffin	In	F	A	A&K-379
339	1	Gladsakse D	Zealand	København	IV	Stone packing	Cr	U	U	A&K-382
339	2	Gladsakse F	Zealand	København	III	Stone packing	In	U	U	A&K-382
340	3	Gladsakse G	Zealand	København	II	Disintegrated coffin	In	F	A	A&K-382

Site ID	Burial No	Site Name	Region	County	Period	Receptacle	Burial Type	Sex	How Sexed	Sources
340	4	Gladsakse K	Zealand	København	II	Stone packing	In	M	A	A&K-382
341	1	Søborg	Zealand	København	III	Stone packing	Cr	U	U	A&K-383
342	1	Hvidegård	Zealand	København	III	Stone cist	Cr	U	U	A&K-398
343	1	Store-Magleby A	Zealand	København	III	Stone cist	In	M	A	A&K-410
343	2	Store-Magleby B	Zealand	København	U	Stone cist	Cr	U	U	A&K-410
344	1	Jægersborg Hegn A	Zealand	København	U	Stone cist	In	U	U	A7K-420
344	2	Jægersborg Hegn B	Zealand	København	U	Stone cist	In	U	U	A&K-420
344	3	Jægersborg Hegn	Zealand	København	U	Urn	Cr	U	U	A&K-420
345	1	Jægersborg Hegn	Zealand	København	U	Urn	Cr	U	U	A&K-422
345	2	Jægersborg Hegn	Zealand	København	U	Urn	Cr	U	U	A&K-422
346	1	Jægersborg Hegn	Zealand	København	III	Stone cist	U	U	U	A&K-423
347	1	Skodsborg C	Zealand	København	II	Stone cist	In	M	A	A&K-429
348	1	Søllerød	Zealand	København	II	Stone cist	U	M	A	A&K-430
349	1	Søllerød	Zealand	København	II	Soft earth	In	M	A	A&K-431
350	1	Trørød	Zealand	København	III	Stone cist	Cr	U	U	A&K-432
351	1	Maglebylelle A	Zealand	København	IV	Disintegrated coffin	Cr	U	U	A&K-439
351	2	Maglebylelle C	Zealand	København	III	Stone cist	Cr	U	U	A&K-439
352	1	Petersdal	Zealand	København	II	Stone packing	In	M	A	A&K-443
353	1	Petersdal D	Zealand	København	EBA	Stone packing	In	U	U	A&K-445
353	2	Petersdal E	Zealand	København	III	Stone packing	Cr	M	A	A&K-445
354	1	Helvigmagle	Zealand	København	III	Unknown	Cr	M	A	A&K-450
355	1	Øm	Zealand	København	EBA		U	M	A	A&K-451
356	1	Gundsømagle B	Zealand	København	III	Stone cist	Cr	U	U	A&K-453
357	1	Gundsømagle A	Zealand	København	III	Stone cist	Cr	M	A	A&K-454
357	2	Gundsømagle B	Zealand	København	LBA	Stone packing	Cr	U	U	A&K-454
358	1	Bognæsård	Zealand	København	EBA	Stone cist	In	M	A	A&K-458
359	1	Veddelev	Zealand	København	II	Soil plaster	In	M	A	A&K-462

Site ID	Burial No	Site Name	Region	County	Period	Receptacle	Burial Type	Sex	How Sexed	Sources
360	1	Hvedstrup A	Zealand	København	LBA	Stone cist	Cr	U	U	A&K-466
360	2	Hvedstrup B	Zealand	København	LBA	Disintegrated coffin	Cr	U	U	A&K-466
360	3	Hvedstrup C	Zealand	København	II	Disintegrated coffin	In	M	A	A&K-466
361	1	Jyllinge	Zealand	København	LBA	Urn	Cr	U	U	A&K-467
361	2	Jyllinge	Zealand	København	III	Stone plaster	In	U	U	A&K-467
362	1	Jyllinge	Zealand	København	III	Stone cist	Cr	F	A	A&K-469
363	1	Jyllinge A	Zealand	København	III	Stone cist	Cr	M	A	A&K-471
364	1	Jyllinge	Zealand	København	III	Stone cist	Cr	M	A	A&K-472
365	1	Gerdrup A	Zealand	København	EBA	Disintegrated coffin	In	U	U	A&K-474
366	1	Gerdrup B	Zealand	København	II	Disintegrated coffin	In	M	A	A&K-475
367	1	Elisgård	Zealand	København	III	Stone packing	In	M	A	A&K-493
368	1	Sankt Jørgensbjerg	Zealand	København	II	Unknown	In	F	A	A&K-494
369	1	Sankt Jørgensbjerg	Zealand	København	II	Unknown	In	F	A	A&K-495
370	1	Lille-Valby	Zealand	København	II	Stone cist	In	U	U	A&K-502
371	1	Karlslunde	Zealand	København	EBA	Unknown	In	M	A	A&K-514
372	1	Karlslunde A	Zealand	København	II	Stone cist	In	F	A	A&K-516
374	1	Karlstrup J	Zealand	København	II	Disintegrated coffin	In	M	A	A&K-518
374	2	Karlstrup L	Zealand	København	III	Coffin	In	U	U	A&K-518
374	3	Karlstrup N	Zealand	København	II	Disintegrated coffin	In	M	A	A&K-518
374	4	Karlstrup Q	Zealand	København	II	Coffin	In	M	A	A&K-518
375	1	Solrød	Zealand	København	II	Disintegrated coffin	U	M	A	A&K-529
376	1	Gammel-Lejre	Zealand	København	U	Unknown	Cr	M	A	A&K-536
377	1	Gammel-Lejre	Zealand	København	II	Unknown	In	M	A	A&K-538
378	1	Kirke-Sonnerup	Zealand	København	U	Urn	Cr	U	U	A&K-571
379	1	Kirke-Såby	Zealand	København	III	Stone packing	In	U	U	A&K-574
380	1	Torkilstrup	Zealand	København	II	Disintegrated coffin	In	M	A	A&K-576
381	1	Lyndby B	Zealand	København	U	Stone packing	In	U	U	A&K-584

Site ID	Burial No	Site Name	Region	County	Period	Receptacle	Burial Type	Sex	How Sexed	Sources
381	2	Lyndby D	Zealand	København	U	Soft earth	In	U	U	A&K-584
382	1	Lyndby	Zealand	København	III	Stone cist	In	M	A	A&K-585
383	1	Lyndby A	Zealand	København	III	Stone cist	Cr	U	U	A&K-586
384	1	Ejby A	Zealand	København	III	Stone cist	Cr	M	A	A&K-590
384	2	Ejby B	Zealand	København	II	Disintegrated coffin	In	F	A	A&K-590
385	1	Ryegård A	Zealand	København	II	Stone packing	In	M	A	A&K-597
386	1	Sæby A	Zealand	København	III	Stone cist	Cr	U	U	A&K-599
387	1	Risby Skov	Zealand	Præsto	III	Disintegrated coffin	Cr	U	U	A&K-1240
388	1	Flinterupgård	Zealand	Holbæk	II	Unknown	Cr	F	A	A&K-623
389	1	Wegnersminde	Zealand	Holbæk	III	Unknown	U	M	A	A&K-703
390	1	Kisserup A	Zealand	Holbæk	III	Stone cist	Cr	M	A	A&K-1072
391	1	Hønning	Jutland	Tønder	EBA	Unknown	In	M	A	A&K-2867
392	1	Vestergård	Jutland	Tønder	III	Stone cist	Cr	U	U	A&K-2871
393	1	Arnum B	Jutland	Tønder	II	Coffin	In	M	A	A&K-2878
394	1	Højrup	Jutland	Tønder	II	Stone cist	In	M	A	A&K-2882
395	1	Vester-Gasse	Jutland	Tønder	EBA	Stone cist	U	M	A	A&K-2897
396	1	Fjærsted Nørremark A	Jutland	Tønder	EBA	Disintegrated coffin	In	U	U	A&K-2904
396	2	Fjærsted Nørremark E	Jutland	Tønder	LBA	Urn	Cr	U	U	A&K-2904
397	1	Emmerlev	Jutland	Tønder	III	Coffin	In	M	A	A&K-2909
398	1	Hjerpsted	Jutland	Tønder	EBA	Unknown	Cr	U	U	A&K-2913
398	2	Hjerpsted	Jutland	Tønder	U	Urn	Cr	U	U	A&K-2913
399	1	Hjerpsted B	Jutland	Tønder	EBA	Disintegrated coffin	In	U	U	A&K-2915
400	1	Hjerpsted	Jutland	Tønder	II	Disintegrated coffin	In	M	A	A&K-2916
401	1	Løgumgårde B	Jutland	Tønder	III	Unknown	Cr	U	U	A&K-2930
402	1	Tornskov B	Jutland	Tønder	III	Stone packing	Cr	U	U	A&K-2933
402	2	Tornskov C	Jutland	Tønder	U	Stone packing	Cr	U	U	A&K-2933
402	3	Tornskov H	Jutland	Tønder	LBA	Urn	Cr	U	U	A&K-2933

Site ID	Burial No	Site Name	Region	County	Period	Receptacle	Burial Type	Sex	How Sexed	Sources
402	4	Tornskov L	Jutland	Tønder	LBA	Urn	Cr	U	U	A&K-2933
403	1	Bov B	Jutland	Tønder	III	Unknown	Cr	U	U	A&K-2936
404	1	Bov	Jutland	Åbenrå	LBA	Unknown	Cr	U	U	A&K-2952
405	1	Bov B	Jutland	Åbenrå	III	Stone packing	Cr	U	U	A&K-2953
405	2	Bov C	Jutland	Åbenrå	LBA	Urn	Cr	U	U	A&K-2953
406	1	Bov	Jutland	Åbenrå	III	Urn	Cr	U	U	A&K-2955
407	1	Fårhus	Jutland	Åbenrå	III	Urn	Cr	U	U	A&K-2956
408	1	Frøslev A	Jutland	Åbenrå	III	Disintegrated coffin	In	U	U	A&K-2958
408	2	Frøslev B	Jutland	Åbenrå	III	Disintegrated coffin	Cr	U	U	A&K-2958
409	1	Frøslev B	Jutland	Åbenrå	III	Stone packing	In	M	A	A&K-2960
410	1	Frøslev B	Jutland	Åbenrå	II	Disintegrated coffin	In	F	A	A&K-2962
410	2	Frøslev D	Jutland	Åbenrå	III	Disintegrated coffin	Cr	U	U	A&K-2962
410	3	Frøslev E	Jutland	Åbenrå	U	Stone packing	Cr	U	U	A&K-2962
411	1	Frøslev	Jutland	Åbenrå	III	Stone packing	Cr	U	U	A&K-2966
412	1	Sønderhav	Jutland	Åbenrå	III	Stone packing	Cr	M	A	A&K-2987
413	1	Vilsbæk	Jutland	Åbenrå	III	Unknown	Cr	U	U	A&K-2988
414	1	Porsbøl	Jutland	Åbenrå	III	Unknown	Cr	U	U	A&K-2993
415	1	Bolderslev	Jutland	Åbenrå	U	Urn	Cr	U	U	A&K3006
415	2	Bolderslev	Jutland	Åbenrå	II	Coffin	In	M	A	A&K-3006
416	1	Hjordkjær C	Jutland	Åbenrå	II	Disintegrated coffin	In	U	U	A&K-3017
417	1	Hjordkjær B	Jutland	Åbenrå	EBA	Stone packing	In	U	U	A&K-3019
419	1	Nybøl	Jutland	Åbenrå	III	Urn	Cr	U	U	A&K-3024
420	1	Sønder-Ønlev B	Jutland	Åbenrå	III	Stone packing	Cr	U	U	A&K-3027
421	1	Sønder-Ønlev H	Jutland	Åbenrå	EBA	Disintegrated coffin	In	M	A	A&K-3025
422	1	Sønder-Ønlev M	Jutland	Åbenrå	III	Stone packing	Cr	U	U	A&K-3028
423	1	Sønder-Ønlev C	Jutland	Åbenrå	III	Disintegrated coffin	Cr	U	U	A&K-3029
424	1	Barsmark C	Jutland	Åbenrå	III	Disintegrated coffin	Cr	U	U	A&K-3036

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425	1	Barsmark	Jutland	Åbenrå	LBA	Unknown	Cr	M	A	A&K-3037
426	1	Lunderup B	Jutland	Åbenrå	II	Unknown	Cr	M	A	A&K-3053
427	1	Lunderup A	Jutland	Åbenrå	II	Disintegrated coffin	In	M	A	A&K-3055
428	1	Mjøls B	Jutland	Åbenrå	II	Stone packing	Cr	M	A	A&K-3061
429	1	Mjøls	Jutland	Åbenrå	III	Stone packing	Cr	M	A	A&K-3062
430	1	Arndrup	Jutland	Åbenrå	III	Stone packing	Cr	U	U	A&K-3071
431	1	Hønkys B	Jutland	Åbenrå	II	Disintegrated coffin	In	U	U	A&K-3077
432	1	Gren A	Jutland	Åbenrå	III	Stone packing	Cr	F	A	A&K-3080
433	1	Hellevad A	Jutland	Åbenrå	EBA	Disintegrated coffin	Cr	U	U	A&K-3080
433	2	Hellevad C	Jutland	Åbenrå	III	Stone cist	In	U	U	A&K-3080
434	1	Genner B	Jutland	Åbenrå	EBA	Stone packing	Cr	U	U	A&K-3096
435	1	Øster-Løgum	Jutland	Åbenrå	III	Urn	Cr	U	U	A&K-3122
436	1	Stolbro A	Jutland	Sønderborg	II	Stone packing	In	M	A	A&K-3142
436	2	Stolbro B	Jutland	Sønderborg	III	Stone packing	Cr	M	A	A&K-3142
437	1	Brandsbøl	Jutland	Sønderborg	III	Disintegrated coffin	Cr	F	A	A&K-3149
438	1	Nordborg A	Jutland	Sønderborg	III	Stone packing	Cr	F	A	A&K-3158
439	1	Himmark	Jutland	Sønderborg	EBA	Stone cist	Cr	U	U	A&K-3171
440	1	Augustenborg Hovedgård	Jutland	Sønderborg	III	Stone packing	Cr	U	U	A&K-3181
441	1	Lambjerg Indtægt	Jutland	Sønderborg	III	Stone packing	Cr	U	U	A&K-3187
442	1	Gammelgård	Jutland	Sønderborg	III/IV	Stone packing	Cr	U	U	A&K-3198
443	1	Gammelgård B	Jutland	Sønderborg	III	Disintegrated coffin	Cr	F	A	A&K-3200
444	1	Gammelgård	Jutland	Sønderborg	II	Stone cist	Cr	U	U	A&K-3203
445	1	Gammelgård	Jutland	Sønderborg	II	Stone packing	In	M	A	A&K-3205
446	1	Gammelgård	Jutland	Sønderborg	EBA	Stone packing	Cr	U	U	A&K-3209
447	1	Skakkenborg A	Jutland	Sønderborg	III	Stone packing	Cr	F	A	A&K-3219
448	1	Skakkenborg D	Jutland	Sønderborg	III	Stone packing	Cr	M	A	A&K-3221
449	1	Rumohrsgård	Jutland	Sønderborg	II	Stone cist	Cr	M	A	A&K-3242

Site ID	Burial No	Site Name	Region	County	Period	Receptacle	Burial Type	Sex	How Sexed	Sources
450	1	Rumohrsgård	Jutland	Sønderborg	I	Disintegrated coffin	In	M	A	A&K-3243
451	1	Sønderborg	Jutland	Sønderborg	EBA	Stone packing	Cr	M	A	A&K-3250
452	1	Sønderborg	Jutland	Sønderborg	EBA	Stone cist	In	M	A	A&K-3251
453	1	Abilgård Skov B	Jutland	Sønderborg	LBA	Urn	Cr	U	U	A&K-3255
453	2	Abilgård Skov C	Jutland	Sønderborg	LBA	Urn	Cr	U	U	A&K-3255
454	1	Stenholt	Jutland	Sønderborg	II	Stone cist	Cr	M	A	A&K-3266
455	1	Sønderskov A	Jutland	Sønderborg	III	Stone packing	In	U	U	A&K-3274
455	2	Sønderskov D	Jutland	Sønderborg	LBA	Urn	Cr	U	U	A&K-3274
456	1	Gammelgab	Jutland	Sønderborg	III	Urn	Cr	U	U	A&K-3294
457	1	Dybbøl	Jutland	Sønderborg	III	Stone packing	Cr	M	A	A&K-3301
458	1	Nybøl	Jutland	Sønderborg	II	Disintegrated coffin	In	M	A	A&K-3308
459	1	Hesselagergård D	Jutland	Svendborg	II	Disintegrated coffin	In	M	A	A&K-2006
500	1	Hesselagergård C	Jutland	Svendborg	U	Stone packing	In	U	U	A&K-2010
500	2	Hesselagergård E	Jutland	Svendborg	III	Stone packing	Cr	M	A	A&K-2010
500	3	Hesselagergård F	Jutland	Svendborg	III	Stone packing	In	M	A	A&K-2010
501	1	Hesselagergård A	Jutland	Svendborg	EBA	Disintegrated coffin	In	F	A	A&K-2011
501	2	Hesselagergård B	Jutland	Svendborg	II	Unknown	In	F	A	A&K-2011
502	1	Hesselager C	Jutland	Svendborg	III	Stone packing	Cr	U	U	A&K-2012
503	1	Hesselager A	Jutland	Svendborg	II	Disintegrated coffin	In	F	A	A&K-2014
504	1	Hesselager	Jutland	Svendborg	II	Disintegrated coffin	In	F	A	A&K-2017
505	1	Grønneskov C	Jutland	Svendborg	EBA	Stone packing	Cr	U	U	A&K-2028
505	2	Grønneskov E	Jutland	Svendborg	LBA	Unknown	Cr	U	U	A&K-2028
506	1	Grønneskov B	Jutland	Svendborg	V	Stone packing	Cr	U	U	A&K-2029
507	1	Fæbæk	Jutland	Svendborg	II	Disintegrated coffin	In	F	A	A&K-2039
508	1	Fæbæk A	Jutland	Svendborg	II	Disintegrated coffin	In	U	U	A&K-2040
508	2	Fæbæk B	Jutland	Svendborg	EBA	Disintegrated coffin	In	M	A	A&K-2040
509	1	Nordenbro C	Jutland	Svendborg	II	Disintegrated coffin	Cr	M	A	A&K-2060

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510	1	Findinge	Jutland	Svendborg	III	Stone packing	Cr	F	A	A&K-2071
511	1	Lyndelse	Jutland	Svendborg	EBA	Stone cist	In	M	A	A&K-2083
512	1	Avnslev Overby	Jutland	Svendborg	EBA	Unknown	In	U	U	A&K-2135
513	1	Bovense B	Jutland	Svendborg	II	Disintegrated coffin	In	M	A	A&K-2138
514	1	Lysemosegård A	Jutland	Svendborg	EBA	Stone cist	In	U	U	A&K-2141
514	2	Lysemosegård B	Jutland	Svendborg	II	Disintegrated coffin	In	M	A	A&K-2141
515	1	Strandtved	Jutland	Svendborg	III	Stone packing	Cr	M	A	A&K-2143
516	1	Strandtved A	Jutland	Svendborg	II	Unknown	Cr	M	A	A&K-2144
517	1	Refs-Vindinge	Jutland	Svendborg	II	Unknown	In	M	A	A&K-2161
518	1	Holckenhavn A	Jutland	Svendborg	U	Disintegrated coffin	In	F	A	A&K-2168
518	2	Holckenhavn B	Jutland	Svendborg	II	Stone packing	In	F	A	A&K-2168
519	1	Holckenhavn A	Jutland	Svendborg	EBA	Stone packing	In	M	A	A&K-2169
520	1	Fole B	Jutland	Haderslev	III	Unknown	Cr	M	A	A&K-3349
520	2	Fole D	Jutland	Haderslev	III	Stone packing	Cr	U	U	A&K-3349
521	1	Kastbjergled	Jutland	Haderslev	II	Stone cist	In	U	U	A&K-3359
522	1	Fæsted B	Jutland	Haderslev	LBA	Urn	Cr	U	U	A&K-3389
523	1	Fæsted	Jutland	Haderslev	II	Stone packing	Cr	U	U	A&K-3390
524	1	Harreby B	Jutland	Haderslev	III	Stone packing	In	F	A	A&K-3395
525	1	Harreby A	Jutland	Haderslev	III	Stone packing	Cr	U	U	A&K-3397
526	1	Møjbøl B	Jutland	Haderslev	EBA	Disintegrated coffin	Cr	U	U	A&K-3400
527	1	Møjbøl B	Jutland	Haderslev	LBA	Urn	Cr	U	U	A&K-3401
527	2	Møjbøl C	Jutland	Haderslev	LBA	Urn	Cr	U	U	A&K-3401
528	1	Endrupskov A	Jutland	Haderslev	III	Stone packing	Cr	M	A	A&K-3404
529	1	Gammel-Ladegård	Jutland	Haderslev	III	Stone packing	Cr	U	U	A&K-3416
530	1	Jernhyt A	Jutland	Haderslev	EBA	Disintegrated coffin	In	U	U	A&K-3421
530	2	Jernhyt C	Jutland	Haderslev	EBA	Stone packing	In	U	U	A&K-3421
531	1	Jernhyt F	Jutland	Haderslev	III	Stone packing	Cr	M	A	A&K-3421 I

Site ID	Burial No	Site Name	Region	County	Period	Receptacle	Burial Type	Sex	How Sexed	Sources
532	1	Jegerup	Jutland	Haderslev	LBA	Urn	Cr	U	U	A&K-3441
533	1	Henneksdam	Jutland	Haderslev	II	Coffin	In	M	A	A&K-3443
534	1	Jels A	Jutland	Haderslev	II	Unknown	In	M	A	A&K-3446
534	2	Jels B	Jutland	Haderslev	EBA	Unknown	In	F	A	A&K-3446
535	1	Jels	Jutland	Haderslev	II	Coffin	In	M	A	A&K-3451
536	1	Magstrup B	Jutland	Haderslev	LBA	Urn	Cr	U	U	A&K-3464
536	2	Magstrup C	Jutland	Haderslev	LBA	Urn	Cr	U	U	A&K-3464
536	3	Magstrup D	Jutland	Haderslev	LBA	Urn	Cr	U	U	A&K-3464
537	1	Ringtved	Jutland	Haderslev	III	Stone packing	Cr	M	A	A&K-3466
538	1	Brøndlund A	Jutland	Haderslev	U	Stone packing	Cr	M	A	A&K-3469
539	1	Favsbjerg A	Jutland	Haderslev	U	Stone packing	Cr	U	U	A&K-3476
539	2	Favsbjerg B	Jutland	Haderslev	U	Stone packing	Cr	U	U	A&K-3476
539	3	Favsbjerg G	Jutland	Haderslev	III	Stone packing	Cr	U	U	A&K-3476
540	1	Gabøl D	Jutland	Haderslev	III	Stone packing	Cr	U	U	A&K-3478
540	2	Gabøl E	Jutland	Haderslev	LBA	Unknown	Cr	U	U	A&K-3478
541	1	Kolsnap D	Jutland	Haderslev	LBA	Urn	Cr	U	U	A&K-3482
542	1	Lille-Nustrup	Jutland	Haderslev	III	Disintegrated coffin	Cr	M	A	A&K-3487
543	1	Lundsbæk B	Jutland	Haderslev	II	Disintegrated coffin	In	M	A	A&K-3491
544	1	Vrå	Jutland	Haderslev	III	Stone packing	Cr	U	U	A&K-3499
545	1	Ørsted C	Jutland	Haderslev	EBA	Stone packing	Cr	U	U	A&K-3504
546	1	Ørsted A	Jutland	Haderslev	II	Coffin	In	U	U	A&K-3506
546	2	Ørsted B	Jutland	Haderslev	LBA	Stone packing	Cr	U	U	A&K-3506
546	3	Ørsted C	Jutland	Haderslev	LBA	Urn	Cr	U	U	A&K-3506
547	1	Ørsted	Jutland	Haderslev	III	Disintegrated coffin	In	M	A	A&K-3507
548	1	Ørsted	Jutland	Haderslev	III	Unknown	In	M	A	A&K-3508
549	1	Hørløk B	Jutland	Haderslev	LBA	Urn	Cr	U	U	A&K-3511
549	2	Hørløk D	Jutland	Haderslev	EBA	Stone packing	Cr	U	U	A&K-3511

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550	1	Lilholt B	Jutland	Haderslev	EBA	Stone packing	In	U	U	A&K-3513
550	2	Lilholt D	Jutland	Haderslev	EBA	Stone packing	Cr	U	U	A&K-3513
550	3	Lilholt E	Jutland	Haderslev	III	Stone packing	Cr	U	U	A&K-3513
551	1	Lilholt B	Jutland	Haderslev	II	Stone packing	In	F	A	A&K-3515
552	1	Skrydstrup D	Jutland	Haderslev	II	Coffin (plank)	In	F	A	A&K-3521
553	1	Skrydstrup A	Jutland	Haderslev	III	Disintegrated coffin	Cr	U	U	A&K-3524
554	1	Skrydstrup A	Jutland	Haderslev	EBA	Stone packing	In	U	U	A&K-3525
554	2	Skrydstrup C	Jutland	Haderslev	III	Stone packing	Cr	M	A	A&K-3525
554	3	Skrydstrup F	Jutland	Haderslev	LBA	Urn	Cr	U	U	A&K-3525
555	1	Skrydstrup A	Jutland	Haderslev	II	Disintegrated coffin	In	F	A	A&K-3530
555	2	Skrydstrup D	Jutland	Haderslev	II	Disintegrated coffin	Cr	U	U	A&K-3530
556	1	Skrydstrup	Jutland	Haderslev	III	Unknown	Cr	F	A	A&K-3532
557	1	Skrydstrup	Jutland	Haderslev	III	Stone packing	Cr	U	U	A&K-3537
557	2	Skrydstrup	Jutland	Haderslev	LBA	Urn	Cr	U	U	A&K-3537
558	1	Uldal B	Jutland	Haderslev	III	Disintegrated coffin	Cr	M	A	A&K-3540
559	1	Sommersted C	Jutland	Haderslev	EBA	Urn	Cr	U	U	A&K-3546
560	1	Abjær	Jutland	Haderslev	III	Stone packing	In	M	A	A&K-3552
561	1	Arnitlund B	Jutland	Haderslev	III	Coffin	In	U	U	A&K-3557
562	1	Arnitlund C	Jutland	Haderslev	II	Disintegrated coffin	Cr	U	U	A&K-3559
563	1	Høgelund	Jutland	Haderslev	II	Stone packing	Cr	M	A	A&K-3566
564	1	Lille-Vedbøl	Jutland	Haderslev	LBA	Urn	Cr	U	U	A&K-3569
565	1	Over-Jerstal A	Jutland	Haderslev	U	Stone packing	Cr	U	U	A&K-3570
565	2	Over-Jerstal B	Jutland	Haderslev	III	Urn	Cr	U	U	A&K-3570
565	3	Over-Jerstal C	Jutland	Haderslev	LBA	Urn	Cr	U	U	A&K-3570
565	4	Over-Jerstal D	Jutland	Haderslev	LBA	Stone cist	Cr	U	U	A&K-3570
566	1	Over-Jerstal	Jutland	Haderslev	I	Stone packing	In	M	A	A&K-3571
567	1	Vedsted A	Jutland	Haderslev	III	Disintegrated coffin	Cr	U	U	A&K-3585

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567	2	Vedsted B	Jutland	Haderslev	U	Stone packing	Cr	U	U	A&K-3585
568	1	Vedsted A	Jutland	Haderslev	U	Stone packing	Cr	U	U	A&K-3586
568	2	Vedsted B	Jutland	Haderslev	LBA	Stone packing	Cr	U	U	A&K-3586
568	3	Vedsted C	Jutland	Haderslev	III	Soft earth	Cr	U	U	A&K-3586
569	1	Vedsted D	Jutland	Haderslev	III	Stone packing	Cr	U	U	A&K-3587
570	1	Billund	Jutland	Haderslev	II	Stone packing	In	U	U	A&K-3592
571	1	Vojensgård B	Jutland	Haderslev	III	Stone packing	Cr	M	A	A&K-3599
572	1	Vojensgård	Jutland	Haderslev	II	Disintegrated coffin	In	M	A	A&K-3601
573	1	Vojensgård E a	Jutland	Haderslev	EBA	Disintegrated coffin	In	U	U	A&K-3602
573	2	Vojensgård E b	Jutland	Haderslev	EBA	Disintegrated coffin	In	U	U	A&K-3602
573	3	Vojensgård E c	Jutland	Haderslev	EBA	Disintegrated coffin	In	U	U	A&K-3602
574	1	Vojensgård A	Jutland	Haderslev	U	Disintegrated coffin	In	U	U	A&K-3604
574	2	Vojensgård B	Jutland	Haderslev	III	Stone packing	Cr	U	U	A&K-3604
575	1	Vojensgård	Jutland	Haderslev	II	Disintegrated coffin	In	M	A	A&K-3605
576	1	Hejsager	Jutland	Haderslev	EBA	Stone packing	Cr	M	A	A&K-3614
577	1	Diernæs A	Jutland	Haderslev	III	Stone packing	Cr	U	U	A&K-3621
577	2	Diernæs B	Jutland	Haderslev	III	Stone packing	Cr	U	U	A&K-3621
577	3	Diernæs C	Jutland	Haderslev	III	Stone packing	Cr	U	U	A&K-3621
578	1	Diernæs B	Jutland	Haderslev	EBA	Disintegrated coffin	In	U	U	A&K-3624
579	1	Diernæs A	Jutland	Haderslev	EBA	Stone packing	Cr	U	U	A&K-3627
580	1	Diernæs B	Jutland	Haderslev	III	Stone packing	In	F	A	A&K-3630
581	1	Diernæs B	Jutland	Haderslev	II	Stone packing	In	M	A	A&K-3633
582	1	Hoptrup	Jutland	Haderslev	EBA	Disintegrated coffin	In	F	A	A&K-3639
583	1	Neder-Kestrup A	Jutland	Haderslev	EBA	Disintegrated coffin	In	U	U	A&K-3645
583	2	Neder-Kestrup B	Jutland	Haderslev	EBA	Stone packing	In	U	U	A&K-3645
583	3	Neder-Kestrup E	Jutland	Haderslev	LBA	Stone cist	Cr	U	U	A&K-3645
584	1	Sønder-Vilstrup B	Jutland	Haderslev	II	Disintegrated coffin	In	F	A	A&K-3666

Site ID	Burial No	Site Name	Region	County	Period	Receptacle	Burial Type	Sex	How Sexed	Sources
585	1	Vellerup	Jutland	Haderslev	II	Stone packing	Cr	M	A	A&K-3683
586	1	Bevtoft A	Jutland	Haderslev	II	Disintegrated coffin	In	M	A	A&K-3685
587	1	Bevtoft A	Jutland	Haderslev	U	Disintegrated coffin	Cr	U	U	A&K-3686
587	2	Bevtoft B	Jutland	Haderslev	III	Disintegrated coffin	Cr	U	U	A&K-3686
588	1	Gøttrup	Jutland	Haderslev	EBA	Disintegrated coffin	Cr	F	A	A&K-3702
589	1	Tislund B	Jutland	Haderslev	III	Stone packing	Cr	M	A	A&K-3703
590	1	Åbøl A	Jutland	Haderslev	III	Disintegrated coffin	Cr	M	A	A&K-3705
590	2	Åbøl B	Jutland	Haderslev	III	Disintegrated coffin	Cr	U	U	A&K-3705
591	1	Åbøl	Jutland	Haderslev	LBA	Urn	Cr	U	U	A&K-3706
592	1	Toftlund A	Jutland	Haderslev	III	Stone packing	Cr	F	A	A&K-3717
593	1	Store-Anslet	Jutland	Haderslev	II	Unknown	In	M	A	A&K-3728

Table (2.2): Artefact Table

Site ID	Burial No.	Art ID	Site Name	Artefact Type	Artefact Group	Material	Item Count	Other Description
1	1	1	Bonderup	Bark Box	Container	Wood	1	
1	1	2	Bonderup	Sword	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
1	1	3	Bonderup	Double button	Adornment	Bronze	2	
1	1	4	Bonderup	Fibula	Adornment	Bronze	1	
1	1	5	Bonderup	Pin	Other	Bronze	8	
3	1	1	Grødby A	Razor	Grooming	Bronze	1	
3	1	2	Grødby A	Finger spiral	Adornment	Bronze	1	
3	1	3	Grødby A	Fibula	Adornment	Bronze	1	
3	1	4	Grødby A	Tweezers	Grooming	Bronze	1	
3	1	5	Grødby A	Sword	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
3	1	6	Grødby A		Other	Iron	1	Thin piece
3	2	1	Grødby B	Knife	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
3	2	2	Grødby B	Arm spiral	Adornment	Bronze	2	
3	2	3	Grødby B	Neck ring	Adornment	Bronze	1	
3	2	4	Grødby B	Fibula	Adornment	Bronze	1	
5	1	1	Billegravsgård C	Pin	Adornment	Bronze	1	
5	2	1	Billegravsgård	Tutuli	Adornment	Bronze	1	
5	2	2	Billegravsgård	Arm spiral	Adornment	Bronze	1	
5	3	1	Billegravsgård G	Sword	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
5	3	2	Billegravsgård	Axe	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
5	3	3	Billegravsgård G	Fibula	Adornment	Bronze	1	

Site ID	Burial No.	Art ID	Site Name	Artefact Type	Artefact Group	Material	Item Count	Other Description
5	3	4	Billegravsgård G	Double button	Adornment	Bronze	3	
5	3	5	Billegravsgård G	Knife	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
5	3	6	Billegravsgård G	Tweezers	Grooming	Bronze	1	
5	3	7	Billegravsgård G	Inlay	Adornment	Amber	1	
5	4	1	Billegravsgård	Knife	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
5	4	2	Billegravsgård	Inlay	Adornment	Amber	1	
5	4	3	Billegravsgård	Tweezers	Grooming	Bronze	1	
5	4	4	Billegravsgård	Axe	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
5	4	5	Billegravsgård	Sword	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
5	4	6	Billegravsgård	Double button	Adornment	Bronze	3	
5	4	7	Billegravsgård	Fibula	Adornment	Bronze	1	
6	1	1	Åbygård A	Sword with scabbard	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
6	1	2	Åbygård A	Inlay	Adornment	Gold	1	
6	1	3	Åbygård A	Tutuli	Adornment	Bronze	2	
6	1	4	Åbygård A	Disc	Other	Bronze	1	Round disc w/shaft hole
6	1	5	Åbygård A	Inlay	Adornment	Amber	1	
6	1	6	Åbygård A	Arm ring	Adornment	Gold	1	
6	1	7	Åbygård A	Axe	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
7	1	1	Gerdrup	Needle	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
7	1	2	Gerdrup		Other	Bronze	1	Misc. oval fragment
7	1	3	Gerdrup	Sword	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
7	1	4	Gerdrup	Tweezers	Grooming	Bronze	1	
7	1	5	Gerdrup	Razor	Grooming	Bronze	1	
8	1	1	Herslev	Dagger	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	

Site ID	Burial No.	Art ID	Site Name	Artefact Type	Artefact Group	Material	Item Count	Other Description
8	1	2	Herslev	Vessel	Container	Ceramic	1	
8	1	3	Herslev	Needle	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
8	1	4	Herslev	Axe	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
10	1	1	Hvidegård	Pin	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
10	1	2	Hvidegård	Bead	Adornment	Amber	1	
10	1	3	Hvidegård	Tweezers	Grooming	Bronze	1	
10	1	4	Hvidegård	Fibula	Adornment	Bronze	1	
10	1	5	Hvidegård	Razor	Grooming	Bronze	1	
10	1	6	Hvidegård	Sword with scabbard	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
10	1	7	Hvidegård	Double button	Adornment	Bronze	1	
10	1	8	Hvidegård	Toilet case	Weapon/Tool	Leather	1	
10	1	9	Hvidegård		Other	Wool	1	Large piece of wool fabric
10	1	10	Hvidegård	Flint lithic tool	Weapon/Tool	Flint	1	
10	1	11	Hvidegård	Knife	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
10	1	12	Hvidegård		Animal Part	Bone	1	
10	1	13	Hvidegård		Animal Part	Bone	1	
10	1	14	Hvidegård		Animal Part	Shell	1	
10	1	15	Hvidegård		Animal Part	Shell	1	
10	1	16	Hvidegård		Natural Unshaped Material	Ochre	1	
10	1	17	Hvidegård		Natural Unshaped Material	Wood	1	Small cube
10	1	18	Hvidegård		Animal Part	Bone	1	
10	1	19	Hvidegård		Animal Part	Bone	1	
10	1	20	Hvidegård		Animal Part	Leather	1	

Site ID	Burial No.	Art ID	Site Name	Artefact Type	Artefact Group	Material	Item Count	Other Description
10	1	21	Hvidegård		Other	Flint	1	Small piece
11	1	1	Hvilehøjgård	Sword	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
11	1	2	Hvilehøjgård	Fibula	Adornment	Bronze	1	
11	1	3	Hvilehøjgård	Knife	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
12	1	1	Jægersborg Hegn	Chisel	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
12	1	2	Jægersborg Hegn	Axe	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
12	1	3	Jægersborg Hegn	Sword	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
12	1	4	Jægersborg Hegn	Disc	Other	Gold	1	
12	1	5	Jægersborg Hegn	Awl	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
12	1	6	Jægersborg Hegn	Belt hook	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
12	1	7	Jægersborg Hegn	Tutuli	Adornment	Bronze	4	
12	2	1	Jægersborg Hegn	Razor	Grooming	Bronze	1	
13	2	1	Karlstrup	Tweezers	Grooming	Bronze	1	
13	2	2	Karlstrup	Inlay	Adornment	Amber	1	
13	2	3	Karlstrup	Fibula	Adornment	Bronze	2	
13	2	4	Karlstrup	Fish-hook	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
13	2	5	Karlstrup	Double button	Adornment	Bronze	1	
13	2	6	Karlstrup	Tutuli	Adornment	Bronze	1	
13	2	7	Karlstrup	Razor	Grooming	Bronze	1	
13	2	8	Karlstrup	Inlay	Adornment	Gold		
13	2	9	Karlstrup	Sword with scabbard	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
13	2	10	Karlstrup		Other	Flint	1	Flint piece
14	1	1	Løserup	Sword	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
14	1	2	Løserup	Knife	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	

Site ID	Burial No.	Art ID	Site Name	Artefact Type	Artefact Group	Material	Item Count	Other Description
14	1	3	Løserup	Razor	Grooming	Bronze	1	
14	1	4	Løserup	Tweezers	Grooming	Bronze	1	
14	1	5	Løserup	Fibula	Adornment	Bronze	1	
17	1	1	Lille Dragshøj	Bowl	Container	Wood	1	
17	1	2	Lille Dragshøj	Dagger with scabbard	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
17	1	3	Lille Dragshøj	Bark Box	Container	Wood	1	
18	1	1	Toppehøj	Dagger	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
18	1	2	Toppehøj	Comb	Grooming	Horn	1	
18	1	3	Toppehøj	Razor	Grooming	Bronze	1	
18	1	4	Toppehøj	Axe	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
18	1	5	Toppehøj	Bowl	Container	Wood	1	
18	1	6	Toppehøj	Sword	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
20	1	1	Nybøl	Comb	Grooming	Horn	1	
20	1	2	Nybøl	Razor	Grooming	Bronze	1	
21	1	1	Skrydstrup A	Comb	Grooming	Horn	1	
21	1	2	Skrydstrup A	Hair ring	Adornment	Gold	2	
22	1	1	Vellerup	Dagger	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
22	1	2	Vellerup	Axe	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
23	1	1	Vallerødhøj	Tutuli	Adornment	Bronze	1	
23	1	2	Vallerødhøj	Sword with scabbard	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
24	1	1	Ølby	Tubes	Adornment	Bronze	125	
24	1	2	Ølby	Sword with scabbard	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
24	1	3	Ølby	Spiral	Adornment	Bronze		
24	1	4	Ølby	Neck collar	Adornment	Bronze	1	

Site ID	Burial No.	Art ID	Site Name	Artefact Type	Artefact Group	Material	Item Count	Other Description
24	1	5	Ølby	Belt plate	Adornment	Bronze	1	
24	1	6	Ølby	Tutuli	Adornment	Bronze	4	
24	1	7	Ølby	Bead	Adornment	Amber	2	
24	1	8	Ølby	Bead	Adornment	Glass	1	
25	1	1	Løfthøj	Knife	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
25	1	2	Løfthøj	Sword	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
25	1	3	Løfthøj	Fibula	Adornment	Bronze	1	
25	1	4	Løfthøj	Flint lithic tool	Weapon/Tool	Flint	1	
25	1	5	Løfthøj	Bead	Adornment	Glass	1	
25	1	6	Løfthøj		Other	Wood	1	Stick w/leather
25	1	7	Løfthøj	Arm ring	Adornment	Gold	1	
25	1	8	Løfthøj		Other	Leather		Leather cases w/strings
26	1	1	Tårnholm A	Belt plate	Adornment	Bronze	1	
26	1	2	Tårnholm A	Dagger	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
26	1	3	Tårnholm A	Arm ring	Adornment	Bronze	2	
26	1	4	Tårnholm A	Tutuli	Adornment	Bronze	2	
26	1	5	Tårnholm A	Finger spiral	Adornment	Bronze	1	
26	1	6	Tårnholm A	Neck collar	Adornment	Bronze	1	
26	1	7	Tårnholm A	Tubes	Adornment	Bronze	3	
26	2	1	Tårnholm B	Sword	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
26	2	2	Tårnholm B	Pin	Other	Wood	2	Pins
26	3	1	Tårnholm C	Double button	Adornment	Bronze	1	
26	3	2	Tårnholm C	Sword	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
26	3	3	Tårnholm C	Fibula	Adornment	Bronze	1	

Site ID	Burial No.	Art ID	Site Name	Artefact Type	Artefact Group	Material	Item Count	Other Description
27	1	1	Nøragerhøj	Sword	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
27	1	2	Nøragerhøj	Vessel	Container	Horn	1	
27	1	3	Nøragerhøj	Arm spiral	Adornment	Gold	1	
34	1	1	Gundslev	Sword	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
34	1	2	Gundslev	Arm ring	Adornment	Gold	1	
36	1	1	Gyldensgård	Hanging vessel	Adornment	Bronze	1	
36	1	2	Gyldensgård	Razor	Grooming	Bronze	1	
36	1	3	Gyldensgård	Dagger with scabbard	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
36	1	4	Gyldensgård	Double button	Adornment	Bronze	1	
36	1	5	Gyldensgård	Arm ring	Adornment	Gold	1	
36	1	6	Gyldensgård	Fibula	Adornment	Bronze	1	
36	1	7	Gyldensgård	Knife	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
36	1	8	Gyldensgård A		Animal Part	Bone	1	
38	1	1	Lejrskov	Axe	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
38	1	2	Lejrskov	Dagger	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
40	1	1	Nordborg	Lance point	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
40	1	2	Nordborg	Sword	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
40	1	3	Nordborg A	Flint dagger	Weapon/Tool	Flint	1	
42	1	1	Ørslev	Awl	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
42	1	2	Ørslev	Arm ring	Adornment	Bronze	3	
42	1	3	Ørslev	Arm spiral	Adornment	Bronze	2	
42	1	4	Ørslev	Double button	Adornment	Bronze	4	
42	1	5	Ørslev	Fibula	Adornment	Bronze	3	
42	1	6	Ørslev	Tutuli	Adornment	Bronze	12	

Site ID	Burial No.	Art ID	Site Name	Artefact Type	Artefact Group	Material	Item Count	Other Description
42	1	7	Ørslev	Sickle	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
42	1	8	Ørslev		Container	Bronze	1	
42	1	9	Ørslev	Finger spiral	Adornment	Bronze	1	
42	1	10	Ørslev	Neck collar	Adornment	Bronze	1	
43	1	1	Ris	Sword	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
43	1	2	Ris	Fibula	Adornment	Bronze	1	
44	1	1	Smidstrupgård	Knife	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
44	1	2	Smidstrupgård	Bead	Adornment	Amber	1	
44	1	3	Smidstrupgård	Sword with scabbard	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
44	1	4	Smidstrupgård	Tutuli	Adornment	Bronze	1	
44	1	5	Smidstrupgård	Tweezers	Grooming	Bronze	1	
44	1	6	Smidstrupgård	Fibula	Adornment	Bronze	1	
44	1	7	Smidstrupgård	Razor	Grooming	Bronze	1	
47	1	1	Vejby	Tutuli	Adornment	Bronze	1	
47	1	2	Vejby	Spiral	Adornment	Bronze	1	
47	1	3	Vejby		Container	Bronze	1	
47	1	4	Vejby	Arm spiral	Adornment	Bronze	1	
47	1	5	Vejby	Ankle ring	Adornment	Bronze	1	
49	1	1	Petersdal	Sword	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
49	2	1	Petersdal	Double button	Adornment	Bronze	1	
49	2	2	Petersdal	Knife	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
49	2	3	Petersdal	Sword with scabbard	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
49	2	4	Petersdal	Fibula	Adornment	Bronze	1	
49	2	5	Petersdal		Other	Gold	1	Sheet metal, 3 punched eyelets

Site ID	Burial No.	Art ID	Site Name	Artefact Type	Artefact Group	Material	Item Count	Other Description
50	1	1	Annisse	Fibula	Adornment	Bronze	1	
50	1	2	Annisse	Tweezers	Grooming	Bronze	1	
50	1	3	Annisse	Dagger	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
51	1	1	Annisse	Awl	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	2	
51	1	2	Annisse	Tweezers	Grooming	Bronze	1	
51	1	3	Annisse	Fish-hook	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
51	1	4	Annisse	Saw	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
51	1	5	Annisse		Natural Unshaped Material	Amber	1	Piece of Amber
51	1	6	Annisse	Dagger with scabbard	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
51	1	7	Annisse	Razor	Grooming	Bronze	1	
51	1	8	Annisse	Fibula	Adornment	Bronze	1	
52	1	1	Annisse	Sword	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
53	1	1	Annisse	Razor	Grooming	Bronze	1	
53	1	2	Annisse	Double button	Adornment	Bronze	2	
54	1	1	Bakkebjerg A	Tutuli	Adornment	Bronze	3	
54	1	2	Bakkebjerg A	Sword with scabbard	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
55	1	1	Bakkebjerg C	Sword with scabbard	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
56	1	1	Bakkebjerg		Natural Unshaped Material	Resin		Resin pieces
56	1	2	Bakkebjerg	Neck ring	Adornment	Bronze	1	
57	1	1	Bakkebjerg	Razor	Grooming	Bronze	1	
57	1	2	Bakkebjerg	Awl	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
58	1	1	Bakkebjerg	Needle	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
58	1	2	Bakkebjerg	Dagger	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	

Site ID	Burial No.	Art ID	Site Name	Artefact Type	Artefact Group	Material	Item Count	Other Description
59	1	1	Smidstrup A	Awl	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
59	2	1	Smidstrup B	Dagger with scabbard	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
59	2	2	Smidstrup B		Other	Bronze	1	Says "Massive tutuli shaped object w/a long pin"
59	2	3	Smidstrup B	Flint lithic tool	Weapon/Tool	Flint	1	
60	1	1	Smidstrup B	Double button	Adornment	Bronze	2	
60	1	2	Smidstrup B	Fibula	Adornment	Bronze	1	
60	1	3	Smidstrup B	Sword with scabbard	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
60	2	1	Smidstrup C	Dagger with scabbard	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
60	2	2	Smidstrup C	Double button	Adornment	Bronze	1	
60	2	3	Smidstrup C	Flint point	Weapon/Tool	Flint	1	
61	1	1	Udshalt B	Sword	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
62	1	1	Gilleleje	Flint point	Weapon/Tool	Flint	8	
63	1	1	Lavø B	Dagger	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
64	1	1	Ramløse E	Tweezers	Grooming	Bronze	1	
64	1	2	Ramløse E	Knife	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
65	1	1	Ramløse	Sword with scabbard	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
66	1	1	Ramløse	Sword	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
66	1	2	Ramløse	Flint lithic tool	Weapon/Tool	Flint	1	
66	1	3	Ramløse	Flint blade	Weapon/Tool	Flint	1	
67	1	1	Ramløse	Sword with scabbard	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
68	1	1	Ramløse	Sword	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
69	1	1	Passebæk	Dagger	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
69	1	2	Passebæk	Chape	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	

Site ID	Burial No.	Art ID	Site Name	Artefact Type	Artefact Group	Material	Item Count	Other Description
70	1	1	Unnerup	Dagger	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
70	1	2	Unnerup		Other	Bronze	1	Ring
71	1	1	Vejby B	Sword with scabbard	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
93	1	1	Neder-Dråby		Other	Bronze	1	Spiral ring
93	1	2	Neder-Dråby		Natural Unshaped Material	Amber	1	Amber piece
94	1	1	Neder-Dråby	Dagger	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
94	1	2	Neder-Dråby	Fibula	Adornment	Bronze	1	
95	1	1	Over-Dråby	Sword	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
96	1	1	Skåningegårde	Sword	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
96	1	2	Skåningegårde		Other	Wood	1	Remains of Birch bark, possibly a container
97	1	1	Jægerspris	Double button	Adornment	Bronze	6	
98	1	1	Jægerspris C	Belt hook	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
98	2	1	Jægerspris D	Tweezers	Grooming	Bronze	1	
98	2	2	Jægerspris D	Saw	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
98	2	3	Jægerspris D	Double button	Adornment	Bronze	2	
99	1	1	Jægerspris B	Flint point	Weapon/Tool	Flint	1	
100	1	1	Ferslev	Fibula	Adornment	Bronze	1	
100	1	2	Ferslev	Tutuli	Adornment	Bronze	1	
100	1	3	Ferslev	Neck collar	Adornment	Bronze	1	
101	1	1	Vejleby	Flint lithic tool	Weapon/Tool	Flint	1	
101	1	2	Vejleby		Other	Bronze		Misc. bronze pieces
101	1	3	Vejleby	Axe	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
101	1	4	Vejleby	Belt hook	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	

Site ID	Burial No.	Art ID	Site Name	Artefact Type	Artefact Group	Material	Item Count	Other Description
101	1	5	Vejleby	Saw	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
101	1	6	Vejleby	Chisel	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
101	1	7	Vejleby	Tweezers	Grooming	Bronze	1	
101	1	8	Vejleby	Awl	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
102	1	1	Gerlev	Knife	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
102	1	2	Gerlev	Double button	Adornment	Bronze	1	
103	1	1	Kyndby	Dagger	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
103	1	2	Kyndby	Flint lithic tool	Weapon/Tool	Flint	1	
104	1	1	Østby	Inlay	Adornment	Gold	1	
104	1	2	Østby	Sword	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
105	1	1	Østby	Sword	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
105	1	3	Bonderup		Other	Bronze	2	Described as "bronze rings"
106	1	1	Bonderup	Sword	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
106	1	2	Bonderup	Knife	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
107	1	1	Græse		Other	Bronze		Unidentifiable bits
107	1	2	Græse	Arm band	Adornment	Bronze	1	
107	1	3	Græse	Fibula	Adornment	Bronze	1	
108	1	1	Græse C	Flint lithic tool	Weapon/Tool	Flint	1	
108	1	2	Græse C	Sword	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
108	1	3	Græse C	Axe	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
108	1	4	Græse C		Other	Pyrite	1	Remains of a piece
109	1	1	Kalundborg A	Dagger	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
109	1	2	Kalundborg A	Sword	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
109	1	3	Kalundborg A	Axe	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	

Site ID	Burial No.	Art ID	Site Name	Artefact Type	Artefact Group	Material	Item Count	Other Description
109	2	1	Kalundborg E	Fibula	Adornment	Bronze	1	
110	1	1	Uggerløse	Sword	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
111	1	1	Uggerløse	Sword	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
112	1	1	Store-Fuglede	Sword	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
112	1	2	Store-Fuglede	Inlay	Adornment	Gold	1	
112	1	3	Store-Fuglede	Axe	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
113	1	1	Svallerup A	Sword	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
113	1	2	Svallerup A	Tutuli	Adornment	Bronze	4	
114	1	1	Svallerup D	Fibula	Adornment	Bronze	1	
114	1	2	Svallerup D	Tutuli	Adornment	Bronze	4	
114	1	3	Svallerup D	Finger spiral	Adornment	Bronze	1	
114	1	4	Svallerup D	Tubes	Adornment	Bronze	6	
114	1	5	Svallerup D	Arm band	Adornment	Bronze	3	
115	1	1	Ubby A1	Knife	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
115	1	2	Ubby A1	Tweezers	Grooming	Bronze	1	
115	1	3	Ubby A1	Toilet case	Weapon/Tool	Leather	1	
115	1	4	Ubby A1		Other	Wool	1	A bit of wool cloth
115	2	1	Ubby C	Tutuli	Adornment	Bronze	1	
115	3	1	Ubby O	Fibula	Adornment	Bronze	2	
116	1	1	Ubberup	Double button	Adornment	Bronze	3	
116	1	2	Ubberup	Fibula	Adornment	Bronze	1	
116	1	3	Ubberup	Sword	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
116	1	4	Ubberup	Dagger	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
117	1	1	Asnæs B	Tutuli	Adornment	Bronze	1	

Site ID	Burial No.	Art ID	Site Name	Artefact Type	Artefact Group	Material	Item Count	Other Description
117	1	2	Asnæs B	Double button	Adornment	Bronze	1	
118	1	1	Bastrup Sønderstrand	Sword	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
119	1	1	Sæby B	Arm spiral	Adornment	Bronze	2	
120	1	1	Rye F	Needle	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
122	1	1	Eriksholm A	Finger ring	Adornment	Bronze	1	
123	1	1	Borrevang	Sword	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	2	
124	1	1	Høve A	Vessel	Container		1	
124	1	2	Høve A	Sword	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
124	2	1	Høve B	Belt plate	Adornment	Bronze	1	
124	2	2	Høve B	Arm band	Adornment	Bronze	1	
124	2	3	Høve B	Neck collar	Adornment	Bronze	1	
124	2	4	Høve B	Tutuli	Adornment	Bronze	11	
125	1	1	Hølkerup	Razor	Grooming	Bronze	1	
125	2	1	Hølkerup	Razor	Grooming	Bronze	1	
125	3	1	Hølkerup	Razor	Grooming	Bronze	1	
125	4	1	Hølkerup	Fibula	Adornment	Bronze	1	
126	1	1	Dragsholm A	Fibula	Adornment	Bronze	1	
126	1	2	Dragsholm A	Arm ring	Adornment	Bronze	1	
126	2	1	Dragsholm D	Razor	Grooming	Bronze	1	
126	2	2	Dragsholm D		Natural Unshaped Material	Amber	2	
126	2	3	Dragsholm D	Sword	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
127	1	1	Ordrup A	Needle	Adornment	Bronze	1	
127	2	1	Ordrup B	Flint lithic tool	Weapon/Tool	Flint	1	

Site ID	Burial No.	Art ID	Site Name	Artefact Type	Artefact Group	Material	Item Count	Other Description
127	2	2	Ordrup B	Needle	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
127	3	1	Ordrup F	Bead	Adornment	Mother of pearl	1	
127	3	2	Ordrup F	Tubes	Adornment	Bronze	1	
127	3	3	Ordrup F	Dagger	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
127	3	4	Ordrup F	Belt plate	Adornment	Bronze	1	
127	3	5	Ordrup F	Bead	Adornment	Glass	1	
127	3	6	Ordrup F	Bead	Adornment	Amber	1	
128	1	1	Ris	Fibula	Adornment	Bronze	1	
128	1	2	Ris	Sword	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
129	1	1	Ris	Sword	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
130	1	1	Ris	Double button	Adornment	Bronze	2	
131	1	1	Veddinge	Dagger	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
132	1	1	Veddinge	Knife	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
133	1	1	Veddinge	Knife	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
134	1	1	Engelstrup		Other	Flint	1	Piece
134	1	2	Engelstrup	Awl	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
134	1	3	Engelstrup	Tweezers	Grooming	Bronze	1	
135	1	1	Grevinge	Needle	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
136	1	1	Grevinge	Fibula	Adornment	Bronze	1	
137	1	1	Gundestrup	Axe	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
138	1	1	Gundestrup	Fibula	Adornment	Bronze	1	
138	1	2	Gundestrup	Razor	Grooming	Bronze	1	
138	1	3	Gundestrup	Double button	Adornment	Bronze	2	

Site ID	Burial No.	Art ID	Site Name	Artefact Type	Artefact Group	Material	Item Count	Other Description
138	1	4	Gundestrup	Tweezers	Grooming	Bronze	1	
138	1	5	Gundestrup	Sword	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
139	1	1	Herrestrup	Dagger	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
140	1	1	Ebbelykke	Sword	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
140	1	2	Ebbelykke		Other	Leather	1	Leather
141	1	1	Holmstrup	Knife	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
141	1	2	Holmstrup		Other		1	A second bit of fabric "possibly atlas or silk"
142	1	1	Højby	Dagger	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
143	1	1	Højby	Fibula	Adornment	Bronze	1	
143	1	2	Højby	Dagger	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
144	1	1	Højby	Tutuli	Adornment	Bronze	1	
145	1	1	Nygård	Tutuli	Adornment	Bronze	1	
145	1	2	Nygård	Neck ring	Adornment	Bronze	1	
145	1	3	Nygård	Knife	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
145	1	4	Nygård	Arm spiral	Adornment	Bronze	2	
145	1	5	Nygård	Finger ring	Adornment	Bronze	1	
145	1	6	Nygård	Fibula	Adornment	Bronze	1	
146	1	1	Nygård	Knife	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
146	1	2	Nygård	Dagger	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
147	1	1	Stenstrup	Tutuli	Adornment	Bronze	10	
147	1	2	Stenstrup	Belt plate	Adornment	Bronze	1	
148	1	1	Overby Lyng	Dagger	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
149	1	1	Hønsinge	Sword	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	

Site ID	Burial No.	Art ID	Site Name	Artefact Type	Artefact Group	Material	Item Count	Other Description
150	1	1	Hønsinge D	Knife	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
150	1	2	Hønsinge D	Tweezers	Grooming	Bronze	1	
150	1	3	Hønsinge D	Razor	Grooming	Bronze	1	
150	1	4	Hønsinge D	Lance point	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
151	1	1	Hønsinge A	Sword	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
151	1	2	Hønsinge A	Double button	Adornment	Bronze	1	
152	1	1	Hønsinge C	Knife	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
152	2	1	Hønsinge F	Tweezers	Grooming	Bronze	1	
152	2	2	Hønsinge F		Natural Unshaped Material	Amber	1	Piece
152	2	3	Hønsinge F	Needle	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
152	3	1	Hønsinge G	Saw	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
152	3	2	Hønsinge G	Double button	Adornment	Bronze	1	
153	1	1	Hønsinge Huse C	Flint lithic tool	Weapon/Tool	Flint	1	
153	1	2	Hønsinge Huse C	Fibula	Adornment	Bronze	1	
154	1	1	Jyderup	Knife	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
155	1	1	Vig	Fibula	Adornment	Bronze	2	
155	1	2	Vig	Knife	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
155	1	3	Vig	Tweezers	Grooming	Bronze	1	
155	1	4	Vig	Double button	Adornment	Bronze	2	
155	1	5	Vig	Dagger with scabbard	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
156	1	1	Vig	Double button	Adornment	Bronze	1	
157	1	1	Hårdmark C	Dagger with scabbard	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
157	1	2	Hårdmark C	Fibula	Adornment	Bronze	1	

Site ID	Burial No.	Art ID	Site Name	Artefact Type	Artefact Group	Material	Item Count	Other Description
157	1	3	Hårdmark C	Nail(s)	Adornment	Bronze	2	
157	2	1	Hårdmark D	Knife	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
158	1	1	Permelille	Spiral	Adornment	Bronze	1	
158	1	2	Permelille	Belt plate	Adornment	Bronze	1	
159	1	1	Bisgård A	Knife	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
159	1	2	Bisgård A	Flint lithic tool	Weapon/Tool	Flint	1	
159	1	3	Bisgård A	Dagger	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
159	1	4	Bisgård A	Double button	Adornment	Bronze	1	
159	2	1	Bisgård B	Razor	Grooming	Bronze	1	
159	3	1	Bisgård C	Saw	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
159	4	1	Bisgård D	Double button	Adornment	Bronze	1	
160	1	1	Henriksholm	Sword	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
161	1	1	Hagendrup	Belt plate	Adornment	Bronze	1	
161	1	2	Hagendrup	Neck collar	Adornment	Bronze	1	
161	1	3	Hagendrup	Tubes	Adornment	Bronze		
162	1	1	Vesterlyngen B	Pin	Adornment	Bronze	1	
162	2	1	Vesterlyngen C	Awl	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
162	2	2	Vesterlyngen C	Double button	Adornment	Bronze	1	
162	2	3	Vesterlyngen C	Tweezers	Grooming	Bronze	1	
162	3	1	Vesterlyngen E	Double button	Adornment	Bronze	1	
162	4	1	Vesterlyngen F		Other		1	Button with eyelets
162	5	1	Vesterlyngen G	Awl	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
162	6	1	Vesterlyngen H	Knife	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
162	6	2	Vesterlyngen H		Other	Flint	1	Described as a "flint plank"

Site ID	Burial No.	Art ID	Site Name	Artefact Type	Artefact Group	Material	Item Count	Other Description
162	6	3	Vesterlyngen H	Fibula	Adornment	Bronze	1	
163	1	1	Føllenslev B	Double button	Adornment	Bronze	1	
163	1	2	Føllenslev B	Razor	Grooming	Bronze	1	
164	1	1	Tjørnmark A	Tweezers	Grooming	Bronze	1	
164	2	1	Tjørnmark D	Dagger	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
164	2	2	Tjørnmark D	Pin	Adornment	Bronze	1	
165	1	1	Kilshoved A	Arm ring	Adornment	Bronze	1	
165	1	2	Kilshoved A	Arm band	Adornment	Bronze	1	
165	1	3	Kilshoved A	Neck collar	Adornment	Bronze	1	
166	1	1	Kilshoved	Tutuli	Adornment	Bronze	2	
166	1	2	Kilshoved	Neck collar	Adornment	Bronze	1	
166	1	3	Kilshoved	Belt plate	Adornment	Bronze	1	
166	1	4	Kilshoved	Arm band	Adornment	Bronze	1	
167	1	1	Snertinge	Double button	Adornment	Bronze	1	
167	1	2	Snertinge	Lance point	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
168	1	1	Særslev B		Other		1	Says "chisel shaped hanging decoration of slate"
168	1	2	Særslev B	Belt hook	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
168	1	3	Særslev B	Tweezers	Grooming	Bronze	1	
168	2	1	Særslev C	Sword with scabbard	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
169	1	1	Birkendegård A	Double button	Adornment	Bronze	1	
169	1	2	Birkendegård A	Razor	Grooming	Bronze	1	
169	1	3	Birkendegård A	Flint lithic tool	Weapon/Tool	Flint	1	
169	1	4	Birkendegård A	Fibula	Adornment	Bronze	1	

Site ID	Burial No.	Art ID	Site Name	Artefact Type	Artefact Group	Material	Item Count	Other Description
169	1	5	Birkendegård A	Knife	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
169	1	6	Birkendegård A	Sword	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
170	1	1	Værslev	Sword	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
171	1	1	Gilingegård	Knife	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
172	1	1	NY-Hagested	Sword	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
172	1	2	NY-Hagested	Fibula	Adornment	Bronze	1	
173	1	1	Hørbygård	Short sword	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
173	1	2	Hørbygård		Animal Part	Bone		
173	1	3	Hørbygård		Animal Part	Bone	1	
173	1	4	Hørbygård		Animal Part	Shell	1	
174	1	1	Uglerup Huse B	Fibula	Adornment	Bronze	1	
175	1	1	Uglerup Huse A	Sword with scabbard	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
175	1	2	Uglerup Huse A	Fibula	Adornment	Bronze	1	
175	1	3	Uglerup Huse A	Needle	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
176	1	1	Hegnårde C	Double button	Adornment	Bronze	1	
176	1	2	Hegnårde C	Razor	Grooming	Bronze	1	
176	2	1	Hegnårde D	Double button	Adornment	Bronze	1	
177	1	1	Allerupgård	Double button	Adornment	Bronze	2	
177	1	2	Allerupgård		Other	Leather	1	Leather thong
177	1	3	Allerupgård	Sword with scabbard	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
178	1	1	Allerup	Sword	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
179	1	1	Allerup A	Fibula	Adornment	Bronze	1	
179	1	2	Allerup A	Dagger	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
179	2	1	Allerup B	Saw	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	

Site ID	Burial No.	Art ID	Site Name	Artefact Type	Artefact Group	Material	Item Count	Other Description
179	2	2	Allerup B	Knife	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
180	1	1	Tuse	Sword	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
181	1	1	Tuse Låge B	Dagger	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
181	2	1	Tuse Låge C	Dagger with scabbard	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
182	1	1	Kisserup	Sword	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
183	1	1	Løserup	Fish-hook	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	2	
183	1	2	Løserup	Double button	Adornment	Bronze	1	
183	1	3	Løserup	Razor	Grooming	Bronze	2	
183	1	4	Løserup	Tweezers	Grooming	Bronze	1	
184	1	1	Løserup	Belt plate	Adornment	Bronze	2	
184	1	2	Løserup	Sickle	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
185	1	1	Løserup	Tutuli	Adornment	Bronze	3	
185	1	2	Løserup	Arm spiral	Adornment	Bronze	1	
185	1	3	Løserup	Finger spiral	Adornment	Bronze	1	
185	1	4	Løserup	Fibula	Adornment	Bronze	1	
185	1	5	Løserup	Dagger	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
185	1	6	Løserup	Neck collar	Adornment	Bronze	1	
185	1	7	Løserup	Belt plate	Adornment	Bronze	1	
186	1	1	Løserup	Dagger	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
186	1	2	Løserup	Awl	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
186	1	3	Løserup	Razor	Grooming	Bronze	1	
186	1	4	Løserup	Flint lithic tool	Weapon/Tool	Flint	1	
187	1	1	Løserup	Knife	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
188	1	1	Estrup G	Pin	Adornment	Bronze	1	

Site ID	Burial No.	Art ID	Site Name	Artefact Type	Artefact Group	Material	Item Count	Other Description
188	1	2	Estrup G	Double button	Adornment	Bronze	1	
188	1	3	Estrup G	Ankle ring	Adornment	Bronze	2	
188	1	4	Estrup G	Neck ring	Adornment	Bronze	1	
188	1	5	Estrup G	Arm spiral	Adornment	Bronze	2	
189	1	1	Haraldsted A	Double button	Adornment	Bronze	1	
189	1	2	Haraldsted A	Axe	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
189	1	3	Haraldsted A	Sword	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
189	1	4	Haraldsted A		Other	Leather	1	Piece of leather
189	1	5	Haraldsted A		Other	Bronze	1	Wire
189	1	6	Haraldsted A	Flint blade	Weapon/Tool	Flint	1	
189	2	1	Haraldsted B	Flint lithic tool	Weapon/Tool	Flint	1	
189	2	2	Haraldsted B	Sword	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
190	1	1	Haraldsted	Vessel	Container	Ceramic	1	
190	1	2	Haraldsted	Razor	Grooming	Bronze	1	
191	1	1	Haraldsted	Belt hook	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
192	1	1	Kværkeby B	Knife	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	2	
192	1	2	Kværkeby B	Double button	Adornment	Bronze	1	
192	2	1	Kværkeby F	Knife	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	2	
193	1	1	Hejninge	Arm spiral	Adornment	Bronze	1	
193	1	2	Hejninge	Hair ring	Adornment	Bronze	2	
194	1	1	Stude	Arm ring	Adornment	Bronze	1	
195	1	1	Stude	Bead	Adornment	Amber	1	
195	1	2	Stude	Dagger with scabbard	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
196	1	1	Kirke-stillinge	Needle	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	

Site ID	Burial No.	Art ID	Site Name	Artefact Type	Artefact Group	Material	Item Count	Other Description
196	2	1	Kirke-stillinge A	Belt plate	Adornment	Bronze	1	
196	2	2	Kirke-stillinge A	Fibula	Adornment	Bronze	1	
196	2	3	Kirke-stillinge A	Finger spiral	Adornment	Bronze	2	
196	2	4	Kirke-stillinge A	Neck collar	Adornment	Bronze	1	
196	2	5	Kirke-stillinge A	Dagger	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
196	3	1	Kirke-stillinge B	Fibula	Adornment	Bronze	1	
196	3	2	Kirke-stillinge B	Sword with scabbard	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
197	1	1	Kirke-stillinge	Dagger with scabbard	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
198	1	1	Bonderup	Double button	Adornment	Bronze	4	
198	1	2	Bonderup	Tutuli	Adornment	Bronze	1	
199	1	1	Stubager	Sword	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
200	1	1	Tårnholm	Sword	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
202	1	1	Forlev A1	Tweezers	Grooming	Bronze	1	
202	1	2	Forlev A1	Razor	Grooming	Bronze	1	
202	2	1	Forlev A2	Razor	Grooming	Bronze	1	
202	2	2	Forlev A2	Tweezers	Grooming	Bronze	1	
202	2	3	Forlev A2	Awl	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
202	2	4	Forlev A2	Dagger	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
202	3	1	Forlev C	Awl	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
202	3	2	Forlev C	Tweezers	Grooming	Bronze	1	
202	4	1	Forlev G	Knife	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
203	1	1	Båslunde	Sword	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
204	1	1	Borroby B	Sword	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
205	1	1	Nordgård	Dagger	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	

Site ID	Burial No.	Art ID	Site Name	Artefact Type	Artefact Group	Material	Item Count	Other Description
206	1	1	Sønder-Bjerge B	Sword	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
207	1	1	Stenbæksholm A	Finger ring	Adornment	Bronze	1	
207	1	2	Stenbæksholm A	Arm spiral	Adornment	Bronze	1	
207	1	3	Stenbæksholm A	Arm ring	Adornment	Bronze	1	
208	1	1	Hårlev C	Dagger	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
208	2	1	Hårlev D	Dagger	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
208	2	2	Hårlev D	Fibula	Adornment	Bronze	1	
208	2	3	Hårlev D	Flint lithic tool	Weapon/Tool	Flint	1	
208	2	4	Hårlev D		Container		1	
208	2	5	Hårlev D		Other		3	Pins of bronze "or tin"
208	2	6	Hårlev D		Natural Unshaped Material	Pyrite	1	
209	1	1	Lille-Tårnby A	Knife	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
209	1	2	Lille-Tårnby A	Sword with scabbard	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
209	2	1	Lille-Tårnby B		Other		4	"Ribs w/gold leaf decoration"
209	2	2	Lille-Tårnby B	Pin	Adornment	Bronze	1	
209	2	3	Lille-Tårnby B	Tweezers	Grooming	Bronze	1	
209	2	4	Lille-Tårnby B	Knife	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
209	2	5	Lille-Tårnby B	Inlay	Adornment	Gold	1	
209	3	1	Lille-Tårnby C	Tweezers	Grooming	Bronze	1	
209	3	2	Lille-Tårnby C	Razor	Grooming	Bronze	1	
209	3	3	Lille-Tårnby C	Awl	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
210	1	1	Valløby	Sword	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
211	1	1	Stenstrup	Dagger with scabbard	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	

Site ID	Burial No.	Art ID	Site Name	Artefact Type	Artefact Group	Material	Item Count	Other Description
211	1	2	Stenstrup	Flint lithic tool	Weapon/Tool	Flint	1	
211	1	3	Stenstrup		Natural Unshaped Material	Pyrite	1	
212	1	1	Balle	Flint point	Weapon/Tool	Flint	1	
213	1	1	Kalvehave B	Sword with scabbard	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
214	1	1	Stensby	Axe	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
215	1	1	Smidstrup Hovgård A	Pin	Adornment	Bronze	2	
215	1	2	Smidstrup Hovgård A	Belt plate	Adornment	Bronze	1	
216	1	1	Skallerup	Arm ring	Adornment	Gold	1	
216	1	2	Skallerup	Sword	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
216	1	3	Skallerup	Razor	Grooming	Bronze	1	
216	1	4	Skallerup	Knife	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
216	1	5	Skallerup	Tweezers	Adornment	Bronze	1	
216	1	6	Skellerup		Other	Horn	1	Says "fragments of something made of horn", has resin filling and scored triangular decoration
217	1	1	Ørslev	Dagger	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
217	1	2	Ørslev	Tutuli	Adornment	Bronze	1	
217	2	1	Ørslev B	Neck collar	Adornment	Bronze	1	
217	2	2	Ørselv B	Arm spiral	Adornment	Bronze	1	
217	2	3	Ørselv B	Arm ring	Adornment	Bronze	3	
217	2	4	Ørslev B	Finger spiral	Adornment	Bronze	1	
217	2	5	Ørslev B	Double button	Adornment	Bronze	4	

Site ID	Burial No.	Art ID	Site Name	Artefact Type	Artefact Group	Material	Item Count	Other Description
217	2	6	Ørslev B	Tutuli	Adornment	Bronze	12	
217	2	7	Ørselv B	Fibula	Adornment	Bronze	3	
217	2	8	Ørselv B		Container	Bronze	1	
217	2	9	Ørslev B		Other	Bronze	1	Band
217	2	10	Ørslev B	Awl	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
217	2	11	Ørslev B	Sickle	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
218	1	1	Skovhuse	Dagger	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
219	1	1	Over-Vindinge	Sword	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
219	1	2	Over-Vindinge	Knife	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
220	1	1	Over-Vindinge	Arm ring	Adornment	Bronze	4	
221	1	1	Hårbølle	Dagger with scabbard	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
222	1	1	Hårbølle	Axe	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
222	1	2	Hårbølle	Flint lithic tool	Weapon/Tool	Flint	1	
222	1	3	Hårbølle		Natural Unshaped Material	Amber	1	
223	1	1	Keldbymagle A	Miniature sword	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
223	1	2	Keldbymagle A	Razor	Grooming	Bronze	1	
223	1	3	Keldbymagle A	Tweezers	Grooming	Bronze	1	
223	1	4	Keldbymagle A	Tutuli	Adornment	Bronze	1	
223	2	1	Keldbymagle B	Miniature sword	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
223	2	2	Keldbymagle B	Lance point	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
223	2	3	Keldbymagle B	Razor	Grooming	Bronze	1	
223	2	4	Keldbymagle B	Tweezers	Adornment	Bronze	1	
223	3	1	Keldbymagle C	Pin	Adornment	Bronze	1	

Site ID	Burial No.	Art ID	Site Name	Artefact Type	Artefact Group	Material	Item Count	Other Description
223	3	2	Keldbymagle C	Knife	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
223	4	1	Keldbymagle D	Dagger	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
223	5	1	Keldbymagle F	Axe	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
223	5	2	Keldbymagle F	Sword	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
223	6	1	Keldbymagle J	Tutuli	Adornment	Bronze	1	
224	1	1	Holtug	Dagger	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
225	1	1	Strandfogedgård A	Axe	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
225	1	2	Strandfogedgård A	Spiral	Adornment	Gold	1	
225	1	3	Strandfogedgård A	Double button	Adornment	Bronze	1	
225	1	4	Strandfogedgård A	Flint lithic tool	Weapon/Tool	Flint	1	
225	1	5	Strandfogedgård A	Razor	Grooming	Bone	1	
225	1	6	Strandfogedgård A	Tweezers	Grooming	Bronze	1	
225	1	7	Strandfogedgård A	Awl	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
225	1	8	Strandfogedgård A	Belt hook	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
225	1	9	Strandfogedgård A	Fibula	Adornment	Bronze	1	
225	2	1	Strandfogedgård E	Awl	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
225	3	1	Strandfogedgård	Belt plate	Adornment	Bronze	1	

Site ID	Burial No.	Art ID	Site Name	Artefact Type	Artefact Group	Material	Item Count	Other Description
			F					
225	4	1	Strandfogedgård G	Flint lithic tool	Weapon/Tool	Flint	1	
225	4	2	Strandfogedgård G		Natural Unshaped Material	Pyrite	1	
225	4	3	Strandfogedgård G		Other	Bronze	1	Misc. piece of bronze
226	1	1	Store-Torøje	Sword	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
227	1	1	Kræmergårde	Dagger	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
228	1	1	Sigerslev	Tutuli	Adornment	Bronze	2	
228	1	2	Sigerslev		Other	Leather	1	Thong
228	1	3	Sigerslev		Other	Wood	1	Bark
229	1	1	Strøby Ladeplads	Dagger	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
230	1	1	Varpelev	Tutuli	Adornment	Bronze	1	
230	1	2	Varpelev	Arm ring	Adornment	Bronze	2	
230	1	3	Varpelev		Other	Bronze	1	Says "probably shaft-point of an awl"
231	1	1	Skelby	Sword with scabbard	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
233	1	1	Nygård	Ankle ring	Adornment	Bronze	2	
233	1	2	Nygård	Fibula	Adornment	Bronze	3	
233	1	3	Nygård	Finger spiral	Adornment	Bronze		
233	1	4	Nygård	Spiral	Adornment	Bronze	1	
233	1	5	Nygård	Double button	Adornment	Bronze	4	
233	1	6	Nygård	Pendant	Adornment	Bronze	1	
233	1	7	Nygård	Knife	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	

Site ID	Burial No.	Art ID	Site Name	Artefact Type	Artefact Group	Material	Item Count	Other Description
234	1	1	Sigård	Sword	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
234	1	2	Sigård	Knife	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
234	1	3	Sigård	Razor	Grooming	Bronze	1	
234	2	1	Sandvig	Dagger	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
234	3	1	Sandvig	Double button	Adornment	Bronze	1	
235	1	1	Sandvig A	Fibula	Adornment	Bronze	1	
235	2	1	Sandvig B	Dagger	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
235	3	1	Sandvig C	Double button	Adornment	Bronze	1	
236	1	1	Sandvig	Sword with scabbard	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
236	1	2	Sandvig	Arm ring	Adornment	Gold	1	
236	1	3	Sandvig	Fibula	Adornment	Bronze	1	
236	1	4	Sandvig	Double button	Adornment	Bronze	1	
236	1	5	Sandvig	Inlay	Adornment	Gold	1	
237	1	1	Tejn D	Neck ring	Adornment	Bronze	1	
237	1	2	Tejn D	Arm spiral	Adornment	Bronze	1	
238	1	1	Stammershalle B	Knife	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
238	2	1	Stammershalle C	Knife	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
238	2	2	Stammershalle C	Tutuli	Adornment	Bronze	1	
238	2	3	Stammershalle C	Arm spiral	Adornment	Bronze	1	
238	2	4	Stammershalle C	Fibula	Adornment	Bronze	1	
238	3	1	Stammershalle D	Tweezers	Grooming	Bronze	1	
238	3	2	Stammershalle D	Knife	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
238	3	3	Stammershalle D	Razor	Grooming	Bronze	1	
238	3	4	Stammershalle D		Natural Unshaped	Resin	1	

Site ID	Burial No.	Art ID	Site Name	Artefact Type	Artefact Group	Material	Item Count	Other Description
					Material			
239	1	1	Alhøj A	Fibula	Adornment	Bronze	1	
239	1	2	Alhøj A	Double button	Adornment	Bronze	1	
240	1	1	Billegravsgård A	Fibula	Adornment	Bronze	1	
240	1	2	Billegravsgård A	Razor	Grooming	Bronze	1	
240	1	3	Billegravsgård A	Finger spiral	Adornment	Bronze	1	
240	1	4	Billegravsgård A	Double button	Adornment	Bronze	1	
241	1	1	Boesgård	Fibula	Adornment	Bronze	1	
241	1	2	Boesgård	Double button	Adornment	Bronze	1	
242	1	1	Munkevang	Arm spiral	Adornment	Gold	2	
242	1	2	Munkevang	Fibula	Adornment	Bronze	1	
242	1	3	Munkevang	Knife	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
242	1	4	Munkevang	Arm spiral	Adornment	Bronze	2	
243	1	1	Slusegård	Sword	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
243	1	2	Slusegård	Double button	Adornment	Bronze	1	
243	1	3	Slusegård	Knife	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
243	1	4	Slusegård	Razor	Grooming	Bronze	1	
243	1	5	Slusegård	Tweezers	Grooming	Bronze	1	
243	1	6	Slusegård	Fibula	Adornment	Bronze	1	
244	1	1	Store-Loftsgård D	Razor	Grooming	Bronze	3	
244	2	1	Store-Loftsgård E	Razor	Grooming	Bronze	1	
244	2	2	Store-Loftsgård E	Tweezers	Grooming	Bronze	1	
244	2	3	Store-Loftsgård E	Knife	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
244	2	4	Store-Loftsgård E	Fibula	Adornment	Bronze	1	

Site ID	Burial No.	Art ID	Site Name	Artefact Type	Artefact Group	Material	Item Count	Other Description
244	3	1	Store-Loftsgård G	Knife	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
244	4	1	Store-Loftsgård O	Awl	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
244	5	1	Store-Loftsgård A	Fibula	Adornment	Bronze	1	
244	5	2	Store-Loftsgård A	Finger ring	Adornment	Bronze	1	
244	5	3	Store-Loftsgård A	Spiral	Adornment	Bronze		
244	5	4	Store-Loftsgård A		Other	Leather	1	On which spirals were wound
244	5	5	Store-Loftsgård A		Container	Bronze	1	Says "small sheet metal case"
244	5	6	Store-Loftsgård A	Double button	Adornment	Bronze	1	
244	5	7	Store-Loftsgård A	Bead	Adornment	Amber	1	
244	5	8	Store-Loftsgård A	Bead	Adornment	Bronze	2	
244	5	9	Store-Loftsgård A	Bead	Adornment	Glass	27	
244	5	10	Store-Loftsgård A		Other		1	Disc with eyelet
244	5	11	Store-Loftsgård A		Other	Bronze	1	Hook with spiral ends
244	6	1	Store-Loftsgård B	Fibula	Adornment	Bronze	1	
244	6	2	Store-Loftsgård B	Knife	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
244	6	3	Store-Loftsgård B	Arm spiral	Adornment	Bronze	2	
244	7	1	Store-Loftsgård C	Double button	Adornment	Bronze	1	
244	7	2	Store-Loftsgård C	Arm ring	Adornment	Bronze	1	
244	7	3	Store-Loftsgård C		Other	Bronze		Misc. bronze fragments
244	8	1	Store-Loftsgård A	Dagger	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
244	8	2	Store-Loftsgård A	Fibula	Adornment	Bronze	1	
244	8	3	Store-Loftsgård A	Razor	Grooming	Bronze	1	
244	8	4	Store-Loftsgård A	Tweezers	Grooming	Bronze	1	
244	9	1	Store-Loftsgård D	Dagger	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	

Site ID	Burial No.	Art ID	Site Name	Artefact Type	Artefact Group	Material	Item Count	Other Description
244	9	2	Store-Loftsgård D	Arm ring	Adornment	Bronze	2	
245	1	1	Degnegård B	Fibula	Adornment	Bronze	1	
246	1	1	Jomfrugård A	Hair ring	Adornment	Bronze	2	
246	1	2	Jomfrugård A	Neck collar	Adornment	Bronze	1	
246	2	1	Jomfrugård C	Hair ring	Adornment	Bronze	2	
246	2	2	Jomfrugård C	Arm spiral	Adornment	Bronze	2	
246	3	1	Jomfrugård E	Dagger	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
246	3	2	Jomfrugård E	Fibula	Adornment	Bronze	1	
246	4	1	Jomfrugård F	Fibula	Adornment	Bronze	1	
246	4	2	Jomfrugård F	Double button	Adornment	Bronze	1	
246	4	3	Jomfrugård F	Tweezers	Grooming	Bronze	1	
246	4	4	Jomfrugård F	Flint blade	Weapon/Tool	Flint	3	
246	4	5	Jomfrugård F	Flint lithic tool	Weapon/Tool	Flint	1	
246	5	1	Jomfrugård M	Hair ring	Adornment	Bronze	2	
246	5	2	Jomfrugård M	Tutuli	Adornment	Bronze	1	
246	6	1	Jomfrugård Q	Double button	Adornment	Bronze	2	
246	7	1	Jomfrugård R	Fibula	Adornment	Bronze	1	
246	7	2	Jomfrugård R	Dagger	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
246	7	3	Jomfrugård R		Other	Bronze	2	Small bronze fragments
246	8	1	Jomfrugård T	Razor	Grooming	Bronze	1	
246	8	2	Jomfrugård T	Flint lithic tool	Weapon/Tool	Flint	1	
247	1	1	Lillegård	Dagger	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
247	1	2	Lillegård	Knife	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
247	1	3	Lillegård	Pin	Adornment	Bronze	1	

Site ID	Burial No.	Art ID	Site Name	Artefact Type	Artefact Group	Material	Item Count	Other Description
247	1	4	Lillegård	Fibula	Adornment	Bronze	1	
247	1	5	Lillegård	Tweezers	Grooming	Bronze	1	
248	1	1	Grødby	Dagger with scabbard	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
249	1	1	Grødby A	Sword	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
249	1	2	Grødby A	Fibula	Adornment	Bronze	1	
249	1	3	Grødby A	Razor	Grooming	Bronze	1	
249	1	4	Grødby A	Tweezers	Grooming	Bronze	1	
249	1	5	Grødby A	Finger spiral	Adornment	Bronze	1	
249	1	6	Grødby A		Other	Iron	1	Thin piece
249	2	1	Grødby B	Arm spiral	Adornment	Bronze	2	
249	2	2	Grødby B	Neck ring	Adornment	Bronze	1	
249	2	3	Grødby B	Fibula	Adornment	Bronze	1	
249	2	4	Grødby B	Knife	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
250	1	1	Lille-Bukkegård	Sword with scabbard	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
250	1	2	Lille-Bukkegård	Razor	Grooming	Bronze	1	
250	1	3	Lille-Bukkegård	Knife	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
251	1	1	Lille-Duegård	Arm ring	Adornment	Bronze	2	
252	1	1	Limensgård A	Sword	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
252	1	2	Limensgård A	Spiral	Adornment	Bronze	1	
252	1	3	Limensgård A	Dagger	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
252	1	4	Limensgård A	Lance point	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
252	1	5	Limensgård A	Axe	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
252	1	6	Limensgård A	Tutuli	Adornment	Bronze	2	
252	1	7	Limensgård A	Double button	Adornment	Bronze	1	

Site ID	Burial No.	Art ID	Site Name	Artefact Type	Artefact Group	Material	Item Count	Other Description
252	1	8	Limensgård A	Tweezers	Grooming	Bronze	1	
252	1	9	Limensgård A	Fibula	Adornment	Bronze	1	
252	1	10	Limensgård A	Flint lithic tool	Weapon/Tool	Flint	1	
253	1	1	Store-Munkeggård B	Hair ring	Adornment	Bronze	2	
253	1	2	Store-Munkeggård B		Other	Bronze	1	Coil of wire
253	2	1	Store-Munkeggård A		Other	Bronze	1	Says "Small smooth ring"
254	1	1	Vasagård A	Fibula	Adornment	Bronze	2	
254	1	2	Vasagård A		Other	Bronze	2	Bits of wire
254	1	3	Vasagård A	Bead	Adornment	Amber	20	
254	1	4	Vasagård A	Tweezers	Grooming	Bronze	1	
254	2	1	Vasagård B	Finger spiral	Adornment	Bronze	1	
255	1	1	Blykobbegård A	Dagger	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
255	1	2	Blykobbegård A	Razor	Grooming	Bronze	1	
255	1	3	Blykobbegård A	Knife	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
255	2	1	Blykobbegård B	Razor	Grooming	Bronze	1	
255	2	2	Blykobbegård B	Fibula	Adornment	Bronze	1	
255	2	3	Blykobbegård B	Tweezers	Grooming	Bronze	1	
256	1	1	Lillegård	Dagger	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
256	1	2	Lillegård	Needle	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
257	1	1	Tornegård	Sword	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
258	1	1	Øster-Åbygård B	Sword	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
259	1	1	Lille-	Dagger	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	

Site ID	Burial No.	Art ID	Site Name	Artefact Type	Artefact Group	Material	Item Count	Other Description
			Strandbygård					
259	1	2	Lille-Strandbygård	Arm ring	Adornment	Bronze	1	
260	1	1	Store-Strandbygård	Lance point	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
261	1	1	Næbbe Odde	Sword	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
261	1	2	Næbbe Odde	Fibula	Adornment	Bronze	1	
261	1	3	Næbbe Odde	Knife	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
261	1	4	Næbbe Odde	Razor	Grooming	Bronze	1	
262	1	1	Rønne Frihed	Finger spiral	Adornment	Bronze	1	
262	1	2	Rønne Frihed	Double button	Adornment	Bronze	2	
263	1	1	Nygård	Fibula	Adornment	Bronze	1	
263	1	2	Nygård	Arm band	Adornment	Bronze	2	
263	1	3	Nygård	Double button	Adornment	Bronze	2	
264	1	1	Sosegård B	Fibula	Adornment	Bronze	1	
264	1	2	Sosegård B	Spiral	Other	Bronze	2	
264	1	3	Sosegård B	Sword	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
264	1	4	Sosegård B	Razor	Grooming	Bronze	1	
264	1	5	Sosegård B	Knife	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
265	1	1	Skovsholm F	Dagger	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
265	1	2	Skovsholm F	Axe	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
266	1	1	Sortegård C	Knife	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
266	1	2	Sortegård C	Tweezers	Grooming	Bronze	1	
267	1	1	Bobbegård	Dagger	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
267	1	2	Bobbegård C	Razor	Grooming	Bronze	1	

Site ID	Burial No.	Art ID	Site Name	Artefact Type	Artefact Group	Material	Item Count	Other Description
267	1	3	Bobbegård	Knife	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
267	1	4	Bobbegård	Tweezers	Grooming	Bronze	1	
268	1	1	Hallegård	Finger spiral	Adornment	Gold	1	
268	1	2	Hallegård	Arm spiral	Adornment	Bronze	1	
269	1	1	Hallegård	Dagger	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
269	1	2	Hallegård	Knife	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
269	1	3	Hallegård	Razor	Grooming	Bronze	1	
269	1	4	Hallegård	Tweezers	Grooming	Bronze	1	
269	1	5	Hallegård	Fibula	Adornment	Bronze	1	
270	1	1	Lousgård	Tutuli	Adornment	Bronze	1	
271	1	1	Lousgård	Finger spiral	Adornment	Bronze	2	
272	1	1	Melsted	Neck ring	Adornment	Bronze	1	
272	1	2	Melsted	Arm spiral	Adornment	Bronze	1	
272	1	3	Melsted	Fibula	Adornment	Bronze	1	
272	1	4	Melsted	Finger spiral	Adornment	Bronze	1	
273	1	1	Melsted	Sword with scabbard	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
273	1	2	Melsted	Fibula	Adornment	Bronze	1	
273	1	3	Melsted	Double button	Adornment	Bronze	2	
273	1	4	Melsted	Tweezers	Grooming	Bronze	1	
273	1	5	Melsted	Razor	Grooming	Bronze	1	
274	1	1	Nørre-Sandegård	Lance point	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
274	1	2	Nørre-Sandegård	Flint dagger	Weapon/Tool	Flint	1	
274	1	3	Nørre-Sandegård	Flint blade	Weapon/Tool	Flint		
274	1	4	Nørre-Sandegård	Vessel	Container	Ceramic	1	

Site ID	Burial No.	Art ID	Site Name	Artefact Type	Artefact Group	Material	Item Count	Other Description
275	1	1	Buskegård	Arm spiral	Adornment	Bronze	1	
275	1	2	Buskegård	Pin	Adornment	Bronze	1	
275	1	3	Buskegård	Neck ring	Adornment	Bronze	1	
275	1	4	Buskegård	Fibula	Adornment	Bronze	1	
276	1	1	Cyldensgård	Tubes	Adornment	Bronze		
277	1	1	Ravnsgård	Arm ring	Adornment	Bronze	1	
278	1	1	Ypnastedgård	Sword	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
278	1	2	Ypnastedgård	Axe	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
279	1	1	Skovby	Sword	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
280	1	1	Sølvhøjgård A	Vessel	Container	Ceramic	1	
280	1	2	Sølvhøjgård A	Dagger with scabbard	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	3	
280	1	3	Sølvhøjgård A	Tweezers	Grooming	Bronze	1	
280	1	4	Sølvhøjgård A	Awl	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
280	1	5	Sølvhøjgård A		Animal Part	Bone	1	Fragments of line decorated bone
281	1	1	Marrebæk	Dagger	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
281	1	2	Marrebæk	Razor	Grooming	Bronze	1	
281	1	3	Marrebæk	Double button	Adornment	Bronze	1	
282	1	1	Væggerløse Kirke	Sword	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
282	1	2	Væggerløse Kirke	Razor	Grooming	Bronze	1	
282	1	3	Væggerløse Kirke	Flint lithic tool	Weapon/Tool	Flint	1	
283	1	1	Birket A	Sword with scabbard	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
283	1	2	Birket A	Double button	Adornment	Bronze	1	
283	1	3	Birket A	Chape	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	

Site ID	Burial No.	Art ID	Site Name	Artefact Type	Artefact Group	Material	Item Count	Other Description
283	1	4	Birket A	Fibula	Adornment	Bronze	1	
283	1	5	Birket A	Razor	Grooming	Bronze	1	
283	1	6	Birket A	Tweezers	Grooming	Bronze	1	
284	1	1	Birket B	Sword	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
284	1	2	Birket B	Fibula	Adornment	Bronze	1	
284	1	3	Birket B	Razor	Grooming	Bronze	1	
284	1	4	Birket B	Flint lithic tool	Weapon/Tool	Flint	1	
284	1	5	Birket B	Needle	Weapon/Tool	Bone	1	
285	1	1	Birket	Knife	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
286	1	1	Birket	Fibula	Adornment	Bronze	1	
287	1	1	Birket B	Fibula	Adornment	Bronze	1	
287	1	2	Birket B	Knife	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
288	1	1	Birket B	Sword with scabbard	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
288	1	2	Birket B	Fibula	Adornment	Bronze	1	
288	1	3	Birket B	Razor	Grooming	Bronze	1	
288	2	1	Birket C	Double button	Adornment	Bronze	1	
288	3	1	Birket D	Awl	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
288	4	1	Birket Fc	Razor	Grooming	Bronze	1	
289	1	1	Ravnsby A	Awl	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
289	1	2	Ravensby A	Belt plate	Adornment	Bronze	1	
289	1	3	Ravensby A	Tubes	Adornment	Bronze		
289	1	4	Ravnsby A	Dagger	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
289	2	1	Ravnsby D	Fibula	Adornment	Bronze	1	
289	2	2	Ravnsby D	Flint lithic tool	Weapon/Tool	Flint	1	

Site ID	Burial No.	Art ID	Site Name	Artefact Type	Artefact Group	Material	Item Count	Other Description
289	3	1	Ravensby F	Flint lithic tool	Weapon/Tool	Flint	1	
290	1	1	Ravnsby A	Knife	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
290	1	2	Ravnsby A	Awl	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
290	1	3	Ravnsby A	Fibula	Adornment	Bronze	1	
290	1	4	Ravnsby A	Arm ring	Adornment	Bronze	2	
290	2	1	Ravnsby B	Tutuli	Adornment	Bronze	1	
291	1	1	Ravnsby A	Dagger with scabbard	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
291	1	2	Ravnsby A	Double button	Adornment	Bronze	1	
292	1	1	Blans	Sword with scabbard	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
292	1	2	Blans	Tutuli	Adornment	Bronze	2	
292	1	3	Blans	Double button	Adornment	Bronze	2	
292	1	4	Blans	Arm ring	Adornment	Gold	1	
292	1	5	Blans	Chape	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
293	1	1	Keldernæs A		Other	Bronze	1	Small lug ring
293	2	1	Keldernæs G	Knife	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
293	2	2	Keldernæs G	Awl	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
294	1	1	Frejlev	Sword with scabbard	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	2	
295	1	1	Frejlev C	Tweezers	Grooming	Bronze	1	
295	1	2	Frejlev C	Double button	Adornment	Bronze	1	
296	1	1	Kettinge A	Dagger with scabbard	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
296	1	2	Kettinge A		Other	Ceramic	1	Piece of a fine broken vessel
296	2	1	Kettinge D	Pin	Adornment	Bronze	1	
297	1	1	Cypressgård	Knife	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
297	1	2	Cypressgård	Awl	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	

Site ID	Burial No.	Art ID	Site Name	Artefact Type	Artefact Group	Material	Item Count	Other Description
297	2	1	Cypressgård	Knife	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
297	3	1	Cypressgård	Knife	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
297	4	1	Cypressgård A	Knife	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
297	4	2	Cypressgård A	Awl	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
297	5	1	Cypressgård B	Knife	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	2	
297	6	1	Cypressgård D	Tweezers	Grooming	Bronze	1	
297	7	1	Cypressgård E	Knife	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	2	
297	7	2	Cypressgård E	Tweezers	Grooming	Bronze	1	
297	7	3	Cypressgård E	Awl	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
298	1	1	Rørbæk E	Flint lithic tool	Weapon/Tool	Flint	2	
298	1	2	Rørbæk E	Razor	Grooming	Bronze	1	
298	1	3	Rørbæk E	Knife	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
299	1	1	Munkebo	Sword with scabbard	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
299	1	2	Monkebo	Tutuli	Adornment	Bronze	2	
299	1	3	Monkebo	Axe	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
300	1	1	Munkebo	Dagger	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
301	1	1	Lundsgård	Sword	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
302	1	1	Bøgebjerg	Fibula	Adornment	Bronze	1	
302	1	2	Bøgebjerg	Knife	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
303	1	1	Stærup A	Sword	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
303	1	2	Stærup A	Chape	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
303	1	3	Stærup A	Awl	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
304	1	1	Høed A	Sword	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
304	1	2	Høed A	Double button	Adornment	Bronze	2	

Site ID	Burial No.	Art ID	Site Name	Artefact Type	Artefact Group	Material	Item Count	Other Description
304	1	3	Høed A	Knife	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	2	
304	1	4	Høed A	Tweezers	Grooming	Bronze	1	
305	1	1	Voldtofte B	Arm ring	Adornment	Gold	2	
305	1	2	Voldtofte B	Arm band	Adornment	Gold	2	
305	1	3	Voldtofte B	Finger spiral	Adornment	Bronze	1	
305	1	4	Voldtofte B	Finger spiral	Adornment	Gold	1	
306	1	1	Voldbro	Sword with scabbard	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
306	1	2	Voldbro		Other	Gold	3	Spiral rings
307	1	1	Strandby	Sword	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
307	1	2	Strandby	Vessel	Container	Ceramic	1	
308	1	1	Lundegård A	Sword	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
308	2	1	Lundegård B	Sword	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
309	1	1	Lumby	Sword	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
310	1	1	Kirchspiel Lund oder Ostrup	Knife	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
311	1	1	Hasmark Vestermark B	Neck collar	Adornment	Bronze	1	
311	1	2	Hasmark Vestermark B	Tutuli	Adornment	Bronze	9	
311	1	3	Hasmark Vestermark B	Arm ring	Adornment	Bronze	2	
311	1	4	Hasmark Vestermark B	Belt plate	Adornment	Bronze	1	
311	1	5	Hasmark Vestermark B	Fibula	Adornment	Bronze	1	
312	1	1	Hasmark	Vessel	Container	Ceramic	1	

Site ID	Burial No.	Art ID	Site Name	Artefact Type	Artefact Group	Material	Item Count	Other Description
312	1	2	Hasmark	Short sword w/scabbard	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
312	1	3	Hasmark	Tutuli	Adornment	Bronze	2	
312	1	4	Hasmark	Fibula	Adornment	Bronze	1	
312	1	5	Hasmark		Other	Bronze	1	Fragment of thin bronze ring
312	1	6	Hasmark	Razor	Grooming	Bronze	1	
312	1	7	Hasmark	Toilet case	Weapon/Tool	Leather	1	
312	1	8	Hasmark	Flint lithic tool	Weapon/Tool	Flint	1	
312	1	9	Hasmark		Natural Unshaped Material	Pyrite	1	
312	1	10	Hasmark		Natural Unshaped Material		1	
313	1	1	Borrebygård	Sword with scabbard	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
314	1	1	Kratholmgård B	Fibula	Adornment	Bronze	1	
314	1	2	Kratholmgård B	Belt plate	Adornment	Bronze	1	
314	1	3	Kratholmgård B	Vessel	Container	Ceramic	1	
314	1	4	Kratholmgård B	Arm ring	Adornment	Bronze	1	
314	1	5	Kratholmgård B	Dagger	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
314	1	6	Kratholmgård B	Finger spiral	Adornment	Bronze	4	
315	1	1	Bastrup Huse	Sword with scabbard	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
316	1	1	Glavendrup	Arm band	Adornment	Bronze	1	
317	1	1	Brandholt A	Fibula	Adornment	Bronze	1	
317	1	2	Brandholt A	Bead	Adornment	Amber	5	
317	1	3	Brandholt A	Finger spiral	Adornment	Bronze	1	
317	1	4	Brandholt A	Vessel	Container	Ceramic	1	

Site ID	Burial No.	Art ID	Site Name	Artefact Type	Artefact Group	Material	Item Count	Other Description
317	1	5	Brandholt A	Bowl	Container	Ceramic	1	
318	1	1	Lumbygård	Arm ring	Adornment	Bronze	1	
318	1	2	Lumbygård	Finger spiral	Adornment	Bronze	1	
319	1	1	Rågelund B	Tutuli	Adornment	Bronze	3	
319	1	2	Rågelund B	Knife	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
319	1	3	Rågelund B	Awl	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
319	1	4	Rågelund B	Arm spiral	Adornment	Bronze	1	
319	2	1	Rågelund C	Sword with scabbard	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
320	1	1	Store-Salby	Knife	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
320	2	1	Store-Salby D	Sword	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
320	2	2	Store-Salby D	Double button	Adornment	Bronze	2	
320	2	3	Store-Salby D	Fibula	Adornment	Bronze	1	
320	2	4	Store-Salby D	Razor	Grooming	Bronze	1	
320	2	5	Store-Salby D	Tweezers	Grooming	Bronze	1	
320	2	6	Store-Salby D	Knife	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
320	2	7	Store-Salby D	Flint lithic tool	Weapon/Tool	Flint	1	
320	2	8	Store-Salby D		Natural Unshaped Material	Pyrite	1	
320	3	1	Store-Salby F	Tutuli	Adornment	Bronze	1	
320	3	2	Store-Salby F	Knife	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
320	4	1	Store-Salby G	Dagger	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
320	4	2	Store-Salby G	Double button	Adornment	Bronze	1	
320	4	3	Store-Salby G	Tutuli	Adornment	Bronze	1	
320	4	4	Store-Salby G	Flint lithic tool	Weapon/Tool	Flint	1	

Site ID	Burial No.	Art ID	Site Name	Artefact Type	Artefact Group	Material	Item Count	Other Description
321	1	1	Køge	Sword	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
321	1	2	Køge	Razor	Grooming	Bronze	1	
321	1	3	Køge	Flint lithic tool	Weapon/Tool	Flint	1	
322	1	1	Ågerup B	Miniature dagger	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
322	1	2	Ågerup B	Razor	Grooming	Bronze	1	
323	1	1	Brøndbyvester A	Dagger with scabbard	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
323	2	1	Brøndbyvester C	Neck collar	Adornment	Bronze	1	
323	2	2	Brøndbyvester C	Arm spiral	Adornment	Bronze	1	
323	2	3	Brøndbyvester C	Tutuli	Adornment	Bronze	5	
323	2	4	Brøndbyvester C	Belt plate	Adornment	Bronze	1	
324	1	1	Brøndbyvester	Arm spiral	Adornment	Bronze	1	
325	1	1	Vridslrøselille	Sword with scabbard	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
325	1	2	Vridslrøselille	Flint lithic tool	Weapon/Tool	Flint	1	
325	1	3	Vridslrøselille		Natural Unshaped Material	Pyrite	1	
325	1	4	Vridslrøselille	Tweezers	Grooming	Bronze	1	
325	1	5	Vridslrøselille	Razor	Grooming	Bronze	1	
326	1	1	Baldersbronde	Fibula	Adornment	Bronze	1	
326	1	2	Baldersbonde	Double button	Adornment	Bronze	1	
327	1	1	Hedehuse A	Saw	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
327	2	1	Hedehuse D	Razor	Grooming	Bronze	1	
327	2	2	Hedehuse D	Double button	Adornment	Bronze	1	
327	2	3	Hedehuse D	Knife	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
328	1	1	Ishøj	Sword with scabbard	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	

Site ID	Burial No.	Art ID	Site Name	Artefact Type	Artefact Group	Material	Item Count	Other Description
328	1	2	Ishøj	Axe	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
328	1	3	Ishøj	Inlay	Adornment	Gold	1	
329	1	1	Vridslosemagle	Axe	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
330	1	1	Smorumnedre B	Tutuli	Adornment	Bronze	1	
330	1	2	Smorumnedre B	Double button	Adornment	Bronze	1	
331	1	1	Smorumnedre B	Sword	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
331	1	2	Smorumnedre B	Razor	Grooming	Bronze	1	
331	1	3	Smorumnedre B	Fibula	Adornment	Bronze	1	
332	1	1	Smorumnedre	Neck collar	Adornment	Bronze	1	
332	1	2	Smorumnedre	Tutuli	Adornment	Bronze	3	
332	1	3	Smorumnedre	Arm spiral	Adornment	Bronze	1	
333	1	1	Smorumnedre	Sword	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
333	1	2	Smorumnedre	Fibula	Adornment	Bronze	1	
334	1	1	Vallensbæk	Flint lithic tool	Weapon/Tool	Flint	1	
334	1	2	Vallensbæk		Natural Unshaped Material	Pyrite	1	
335	1	1	Kirke-Vjerløse	Double button	Adornment	Bronze	1	
335	1	2	Kirke-Vjerløse	Arm ring	Adornment	Bronze	1	
336	1	1	Jægersborg	Sword with scabbard	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
336	1	2	Jægersborg	Toilet case	Weapon/Tool	Leather	1	
336	1	3	Jægerborg	Knife	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
336	1	4	Jægersborg	Razor	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
336	1	5	Jægersborg	Tweezers	Grooming	Bronze	1	
336	1	6	Jægersborg	Flint lithic tool	Weapon/Tool	Flint	1	

Site ID	Burial No.	Art ID	Site Name	Artefact Type	Artefact Group	Material	Item Count	Other Description
336	1	7	Jægersborg		Other	Wood	1	Stick wrapped in leather tape
336	1	8	Jægersborg	Fibula	Adornment	Bronze	1	
336	1	9	Jægersborg	Arm ring	Adornment	Gold	1	
336	1	10	Jægersborg		Other	Leather	1	Leather sword strap
336	1	11	Jægersborg	Pendant	Adornment	Bronze	1	
336	1	12	Jægersborg	Needle	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
337	1	1	Bagsværd A	Razor	Grooming	Bronze	1	
337	2	1	Bagsværd C	Tutuli	Adornment	Bronze	1	
338	1	1	Buddinge	Arm spiral	Adornment	Bronze	2	
338	1	2	Buddinge	Belt plate	Adornment	Bronze	1	
338	1	3	Buddinge	Tutuli	Adornment	Bronze	8	
338	1	4	Buddinge	Neck collar	Adornment	Bronze	1	
338	1	5	Buddinge	Comb	Grooming	Bronze	1	
339	1	1	Gladsakse D	Awl	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
339	1	2	Gladsakse D	Razor	Grooming	Bronze	1	
339	2	1	Gladsakse F	Sword	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
339	2	2	Gladsakse F		Other	Leather		Pieces of leather with bronze rivets
339	2	3	Gladsakse F		Other	Bronze		Rivets
340	3	1	Gladsakse G	Belt plate	Adornment	Bronze	1	
340	3	2	Gladsakse G	Tutuli	Adornment	Bronze	1	
340	4	1	Gladsakse K	Razor	Grooming	Bronze	1	
340	4	2	Gladsakse K	Tweezers	Grooming	Bronze	1	
340	4	3	Gladsakse K	Flint lithic tool	Weapon/Tool	Flint	1	

Site ID	Burial No.	Art ID	Site Name	Artefact Type	Artefact Group	Material	Item Count	Other Description
340	4	4	Gladsakse K	Dagger	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
340	4	5	Gladsakse K	Toilet case	Weapon/Tool	Leather	1	
340	4	6	Gladsakse K		Other	Wool		Says "small rolls of wool yarn"
341	1	1	Søborg	Arm ring	Adornment	Bronze	1	
341	1	2	Søborg	Knife	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
342	1	1	Hvidgård	Fibula	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
343	1	1	Store-Magleby A	Sword	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
343	1	2	Store-Magleby A	Double button	Adornment	Bronze	3	
343	1	3	Store-Magleby A	Fibula	Adornment	Bronze	1	
343	2	1	Store-Magleby B	Flint lithic tool	Weapon/Tool	Flint	1	
344	1	1	Jægersborg Hegn A	Needle	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
344	2	1	Jægersborg Hegn B	Sword	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
344	3	1	Jægersborg Hegn	Arm ring	Adornment	Bronze	1	
344	3	2	Jægersborg Hegn	Double button	Adornment	Bronze	1	
345	1	1	Jægersborg Hegn	Knife	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
345	2	1	Jægersborg Hegn	Knife	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
346	1	1	Jægersborg Hegn	Knife	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
347	1	1	Skodsborg	Sword	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
348	1	1	Søllerød	Sword with scabbard	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
348	1	2	Søllerød	Tutuli	Adornment	Bronze	1	
348	1	3	Søllerød	Fibula	Adornment	Bronze	1	
349	1	1	Søllerød	Sword	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
349	1	2	Søllerød	Flint lithic tool	Weapon/Tool	Flint	1	

Site ID	Burial No.	Art ID	Site Name	Artefact Type	Artefact Group	Material	Item Count	Other Description
349	1	3	Søllerød	Tutuli	Adornment	Bronze	1	
350	1	1	Trørød	Tutuli	Adornment	Bronze	1	
350	1	2	Trørød	Dagger	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
351	1	1	Maglebylelle A	Razor	Grooming	Bronze	1	
351	1	2	Maglebylelle A	Double button	Adornment	Bronze	2	
351	1	3	Maglebylelle A	Needle	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
351	1	4	Maglebylelle A	Miniature Sword w/scabbard	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
351	2	1	Maglebylelle C	Tutuli	Adornment	Bronze	1	
351	2	2	Maglebylelle C	Flint point	Weapon/Tool	Flint	2	
352	1	1	Petersdal	Dagger with scabbard	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
352	1	2	Petersdal	Tutuli	Adornment	Bronze	2	
352	1	3	Petersdal	Flint lithic tool	Weapon/Tool	Flint	1	
352	1	4	Petersdal	Razor	Grooming	Bronze	1	
352	1	5	Petersdal	Spiral	Adornment	Bronze	1	
352	1	6	Petersdal	Needle	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
352	1	7	Petersdal	Tweezers	Grooming	Bronze	1	
352	1	8	Petersdal		Animal Part	Bone	1	
352	1	9	Petersdal		Natural Unshaped Material	Amber	4	2 small and 2 larger pieces
352	1	10	Petersdal	Disc	Other	Bronze	1	Sya"Plate shaped piece of bronze"
353	1	1	Petersdal D	Vessel	Container	Ceramic	1	
353	2	1	Petersdal E	Sword	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
354	1	1	Helvigmagle	Sword	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	

Site ID	Burial No.	Art ID	Site Name	Artefact Type	Artefact Group	Material	Item Count	Other Description
354	1	2	Helvigmagle		Other	Bronze	1	Fragment, possibly from a knife
354	1	3	Helvigmagle	Double button	Adornment	Bronze	1	
355	1	1	Øm	Axe	Weapon/Tool	Flint	1	
355	1	2	Øm	Chisel	Weapon/Tool	Flint		
355	1	3	Øm	Flint blade	Weapon/Tool	Flint		
355	1	4	Øm	Bead	Adornment	Amber		
355	1	5	Øm	Sword	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
355	1	6	Øm	Belt hook	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
355	1	7	Øm	Pin	Adornment	Bronze	1	
356	1	1	Gundsømagle B	Fibula	Adornment	Bronze	1	
357	1	1	Gundsømagle A	Dagger with scabbard	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
357	1	2	Gundsømagle A	Chape	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
357	1	3	Gunsømagle A	Double button	Adornment	Bronze	1	
357	2	1	Gundsømagle B	Tweezers	Grooming	Bronze	1	
357	2	2	Gundsømagle B	Awl	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
357	2	3	Gundsømagle B	Razor	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
358	1	1	Bognæsård	Sword	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
359	1	1	Veddelev	Flint lithic tool	Weapon/Tool	Flint	1	
359	1	2	Veddelev	Dagger	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
359	1	3	Veddelev	Axe	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
360	1	1	Hvedstrup A	Razor	Grooming	Bronze	1	
360	1	2	Hvedstrup A	Button	Adornment	Bronze	1	
360	1	3	Hvedstrup A	Awl	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
360	2	1	Hevdstrup B	Sword	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	

Site ID	Burial No.	Art ID	Site Name	Artefact Type	Artefact Group	Material	Item Count	Other Description
360	2	2	Hvenstrup B	Inlay	Adornment	Gold	1	
360	2	3	Hvenstrup B	Button	Adornment	Horn	1	
360	2	4	Hvenstrup B	Button	Adornment	Bronze	2	
360	2	5	Hvenstrup B	Inlay	Adornment	Gold	2	
360	2	6	Hvenstrup B	Needle	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
360	2	7	Hvenstrup	Razor	Grooming	Bronze	1	
360	3	1	Hvedstrup C	Sword with scabbard	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
360	3	2	Hvedstrup C	Bead	Adornment	Amber	2	
360	3	3	Hvedstrup C	Spiral	Adornment	Bronze	2	
360	3	4	Hvedstrup C	Tutuli	Adornment	Bronze	2	
361	1	1	Jyllinge	Double button	Adornment	Bronze	1	
361	2	1	Jyllinge	Tutuli	Adornment	Bronze	1	
361	2	2	Jyllinge	Knife	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
362	1	1	Jyllinge	Tutuli	Adornment	Bronze	2	
362	1	2	Jyllinge	Arm ring	Adornment	Bronze	1	
362	1	3	Jyllinge	Pin	Adornment	Bronze	1	
363	1	1	Jyllinge A	Sword	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
363	1	2	Jyllinge A	Fibula	Adornment	Bronze	1	
363	1	3	Jyllinge A	Awl	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
364	1	1	Jyllinge	Sword	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
364	1	2	Jyllinge	Fibula	Adornment	Bronze	1	
364	1	3	Jyllinge	Double button	Adornment	Bronze	2	
364	1	4	Jyllinge		Animal Part	Shell	1	
365	1	1	Gerdrup A		Animal Part	Shell		

Site ID	Burial No.	Art ID	Site Name	Artefact Type	Artefact Group	Material	Item Count	Other Description
366	1	1	Gerdrup B	Sword	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
366	1	2	Gerdrup B	Dagger	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
366	1	3	Gerdrup B	Needle	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
367	1	1	Elisgård	Sword	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
368	1	2	Sankt Jørgensbjerg	Neck collar	Adornment	Bronze	1	
369	1	1	Sankt Jørgensbjerg	Neck collar	Adornment	Bronze	1	
369	1	2	Sankt Jørgensbjerg	Arm band	Adornment	Bronze	1	
369	1	3	Sankt Jørgensbjerg	Finger spiral	Adornment	Bronze	1	
370	1	1	Lille-Valby	Flint dagger	Weapon/Tool	Flint	1	
370	1	2	Lille-Valby	Tutuli	Adornment	Bronze	2	
371	1	1	Karlslunde	Sword	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
371	1	2	Karlslunde	Fibula	Adornment	Bronze	1	
371	1	3	Karlslunde	Tweezers	Grooming	Bronze	1	
372	1	1	Karlslunde A	Finger spiral	Adornment	Gold	1	
372	1	2	Karslunde A	Neck collar	Adornment	Bronze	1	
372	1	3	Karlslunde A	Tubes	Adornment	Bronze		
374	1	1	Karlstrup J	Dagger	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
374	1	2	Karlstrup J	Tweezers	Grooming	Bronze	1	
374	1	3	Karlstrup J	Axe	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
374	1	4	Karlstrup J	Flint lithic tool	Weapon/Tool	Flint	1	
374	1	5	Karlstrup J	Belt hook	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	

Site ID	Burial No.	Art ID	Site Name	Artefact Type	Artefact Group	Material	Item Count	Other Description
374	1	6	Karlstrup J		Other	Bronze		Misc. unidentified bronze fragments
374	2	1	Karlstrup L	Flint lithic tool	Weapon/Tool	Flint	1	
374	3	1	Karlstrup N	Razor	Grooming	Bronze	1	
374	3	2	Karlstrup N		Other	Gold	2	Says "pieces of turned/twisted gold wire"
374	3	3	Karlstrup N	Belt hook	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
374	4	1	Karlstrup Qa	Knife	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
374	4	2	Karlstrup Qa	Tweezers	Grooming	Bronze	1	
374	4	3	Karlstrup Qa		Other	Gold	1	Sheet metal with spiral decoration
374	4	4	Karlstrup Qa	Disc	Adornment	Amber	1	
374	4	5	Karlstrup Qa	Double button	Adornment	Bronze	1	
374	4	6	Karlstrup Qa	Flint lithic tool	Weapon/Tool	Flint	1	
374	4	7	Karlstrup Qa	Fish-hook	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	2	
374	4	8	Karlstrup Qa	Tutuli	Adornment	Bronze	1	
374	4	9	Karlstrup Qa	Fibula	Adornment	Bronze	2	
374	4	10	Karlstrup Qa	Razor	Grooming	Bronze	1	
374	4	11	Karlstrup Qa	Sword with scabbard	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
374	4	12	Karlstrup Qb		Other	Bronze	1	Misc. piece of bronze
374	4	13	Karlstrup Qb	Razor	Grooming	Bronze	1	
374	4	14	Karlstrup Qb	Flint lithic tool	Weapon/Tool	Flint	1	
374	4	15	Karlstrup Qb	Awl	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
375	1	1	Solrød	Sword	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
376	1	1	Gammel-Lejre	Sword	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	

Site ID	Burial No.	Art ID	Site Name	Artefact Type	Artefact Group	Material	Item Count	Other Description
377	1	1	Gammel-Lejre	Sword	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
378	1	1	Kirke-Sonnerup	Button	Adornment	Bronze	1	
378	1	2	Kirke-Sonnerup	Needle	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
379	1	1	Kirke-Såby	Sword	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
379	1	2	Kirke-Såby	Tutuli	Adornment	Bronze	1	
380	1	1	Torkilstrup	Razor	Adornment	Bronze	1	
381	1	1	Lyndby B	Needle	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
381	2	1	Lyndby D		Other	Bronze	1	Ring
382	1	1	Lyndby	Sword	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
382	1	2	Lyndby	Arm band	Adornment	Bronze	1	
382	1	3	Lyndby	Arm ring	Adornment	Bronze	2	
383	1	1	Lyndby A	Dagger	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
383	1	2	Lyndby A	Fibula	Adornment	Bronze	1	
383	1	3	Lyndby A	Knife	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
384	1	1	Ejby A	Dagger	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
384	1	2	Ejby A	Tutuli	Adornment	Bronze	1	
384	1	3	Ejby A	Awl	Weapon/Tool	Bone	1	
384	1	4	Ejby A	Double button	Adornment	Bronze	2	
384	1	5	Ejby A	Needle	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
384	2	1	Ejby B	Hair ring	Adornment	Bronze	2	
384	2	2	Ejby B	Arm spiral	Adornment	Bronze	1	
385	1	1	Ryegård A	Belt hook	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
385	1	2	Ryegård A	Fibula	Adornment	Bronze	1	
385	1	3	Ryegård A	Tweezers	Grooming	Bronze	1	

Site ID	Burial No.	Art ID	Site Name	Artefact Type	Artefact Group	Material	Item Count	Other Description
386	1	1	Sæby A	Sword	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
387	1	1	Risby Skov	Arm ring	Adornment	Bronze	2	
387	1	2	Risby Skov	Fibula	Adornment	Bronze	2	
387	1	3	Risby Skov	Arm spiral	Adornment	Bronze	2	
387	1	4	Risby Skov	Neck ring	Adornment	Bronze	1	
388	1	1	Flinterupgård	Belt plate	Adornment	Bronze	1	
388	1	2	Flinterupgård	Arm spiral	Adornment	Bronze	1	
388	1	3	Flinterupgård	Tubes	Adornment	Bronze	22	
389	1	1	Wegnersminde	Dagger	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
390	1	1	Kisserup A		Animal Part	Shell	1	
390	1	2	Kisserup A	Sword	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
390	1	3	Kisserup A	Double button	Adornment	Bronze	2	
390	1	4	Kisserup A	Fibula	Adornment	Bronze	1	
390	1	5	Kisserup A	Knife	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
391	1	1	Hønning	Sword	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
392	1	1	Vestergård	Knife	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
392	1	2	Vestergård	Fibula	Adornment	Bronze	1	
393	1	1	Arnum B	Double button	Adornment	Wood	1	
393	1	2	Arnum B	Dagger with scabbard	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
393	1	3	Arnum B	Bowl	Container	Wood	1	
393	1	4	Arnum B	Bark Box	Container	Wood	1	
393	1	5	Arnum B		Other	Tin	1	Lump of tin
394	1	1	Højrup	Sword	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
395	1	1	Vester-Gasse	Dagger with scabbard	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	

Site ID	Burial No.	Art ID	Site Name	Artefact Type	Artefact Group	Material	Item Count	Other Description
395	1	2	Vester-Gasse	Knife	Weapon/Tool	Flint	1	
395	1	3	Vester-Gasse		Other	Bronze	1	Ring
396	1	1	Fjærsted Nørremark A	Sickle	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
396	2	1	Fjærsted Nørremark E	Pin	Adornment	Bronze	1	
397	1	1	Emmerlev	Sword with scabbard	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
397	1	2	Emmerlev	Arm spiral	Adornment	Gold	1	
397	1	3	Emmerlev		Animal Part	Horn	1	Cow horn with hole in tip
398	1	1	Hjerpsted	Dagger with scabbard	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
398	1	2	Hjerpsted		Other	Amber		Pieces
398	2	1	Hjerpsted	Arm ring	Adornment	Bronze	1	
399	1	1	Hjerpsted B	Flint dagger	Weapon/Tool	Flint	1	
400	1	1	Hjerpsted	Sword with scabbard	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
400	1	2	Hjerpsted	Pin	Adornment	Bronze	1	
400	1	3	Hjerpsted	Bead	Adornment	Amber	2	
400	1	4	Hjerpsted	Arm spiral	Adornment	Gold	2	
400	1	5	Hjerpsted	Chape	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
401	1	1	Løgumgårde B	Knife	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
401	1	2	Løgumgårde B	Tutuli	Adornment	Bronze	2	
401	1	3	Løgumgårde B	Fibula	Adornment	Bronze	1	
402	1	1	Tornskov B	Fibula	Adornment	Bronze	1	
402	2	1	Tornskov C	Vessel	Container	Ceramic	1	
402	3	1	Tornskov H	Bead	Adornment	Amber	1	
402	4	1	Tornskov L	Awl	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	

Site ID	Burial No.	Art ID	Site Name	Artefact Type	Artefact Group	Material	Item Count	Other Description
403	1	1	Bov B	Tutuli	Adornment	Bronze	2	
403	1	2	Bov B	Double button	Adornment	Bronze	1	
403	1	3	Bov B		Natural Unshaped Material	Amber	1	Flat piece
404	1	1	Bov	Needle	Adornment	Bronze	1	
405	1	1	Bov B	Sword with scabbard	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
405	1	2	Bov B	Fibula	Adornment	Bronze	1	
405	1	3	Bov B	Double button	Adornment	Bronze	2	
405	2	1	Bov C	Awl	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
406	1	1	Bov	Tutuli	Adornment	Bronze	1	
406	1	2	Bov	Awl	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
407	1	1	Fårhus	Tutuli	Adornment	Bronze	2	
407	1	2	Fårhus	Arm ring	Adornment	Bronze	1	
407	1	3	Fårhus	Pin	Adornment	Bronze	1	
407	1	4	Fårhus	Flint lithic tool	Weapon/Tool	Flint	1	
408	1	1	Frøslev A	Sword	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
408	1	2	Frøslev A	Arm spiral	Adornment	Gold	1	
408	1	3	Frøslev A		Other	Bronze		Misc. bronze fragments
408	2	1	Frøslev B	Sword with scabbard	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
408	2	2	Frøslev B	Fibula	Adornment	Bronze	1	
409	1	1	Frøslev B	Arm spiral	Adornment	Gold	1	
409	1	2	Frøslev B	Sword	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
409	1	3	Frøslev B	Chape	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
409	1	4	Frøslev B	Fibula	Adornment	Bronze	1	

Site ID	Burial No.	Art ID	Site Name	Artefact Type	Artefact Group	Material	Item Count	Other Description
409	1	5	Frøslev B	Pin	Adornment	Bronze	1	
410	1	1	Frøslev B	Dagger with scabbard	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
410	1	2	Frøslev B	Tutuli	Adornment	Bronze	2	
410	1	3	Frøslev B	Chape	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
410	1	4	Frøslev B	Bead	Adornment	Amber	1	
410	1	5	Frøslev B	Arm spiral	Adornment	Gold	2	
410	1	6	Frøslev B	Fibula	Adornment	Bronze	1	
410	2	1	Frøslev D	Finger spiral	Adornment	Gold	1	
410	2	2	Frøslev D	Dagger with scabbard	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
410	2	3	Frøslev D	Fibula	Adornment	Bronze	1	
410	2	4	Frøslev D	Knife	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
410	3	1	Frøslev E	Dagger	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
411	1	1	Frøslev	Chape	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
412	1	1	Sønderhav	Sword	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
412	1	2	Sønderhav	Inlay	Adornment	Gold	1	
412	1	3	Sønderhav	Knife	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
412	1	4	Sønderhav	Razor	Grooming	Bronze	1	
412	1	5	Sønderhav	Finger spiral	Adornment	Gold	1	
413	1	1	Vilsbæk	Double button	Adornment	Bronze	1	
414	1	1	Porsbøl	Dagger	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
414	1	2	Porsbøl	Finger spiral	Adornment	Gold	2	
415	1	1	Bolderslev	Awl	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
415	2	1	Bolderslev	Comb	Grooming	Horn	1	
415	2	2	Bolderslev	Fibula	Adornment	Bronze	1	

Site ID	Burial No.	Art ID	Site Name	Artefact Type	Artefact Group	Material	Item Count	Other Description
415	2	3	Bolderslev	Sword	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
415	2	4	Bolderslev	Dagger	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
415	2	5	Bolderslev	Axe	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
415	2	6	Bolderslev	Bowl	Container	Wood	1	
416	1	1	Hjordkjær C	Vessel	Container	Ceramic	1	
416	1	2	Hjordkjær C	Neck ring	Adornment	Bronze	1	
416	1	3	Hjordkjær C	Dagger	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
416	1	4	Hjordkjær C	Fibula	Adornment	Bronze	1	
416	1	5	Hjordkjær C	Bead	Adornment	Amber	1	
416	1	6	Hjordkjær C	Arm ring	Adornment	Bronze	1	
416	1	7	Hjordkjær C		Other	Bronze		Misc. fragments of bronze sheet metal
417	1	1	Hjordkjær B	Dagger	Weapon/Tool	Flint	1	
418	1	1	Nybøl	Comb	Grooming	Horn	1	
418	1	2	Nybøl	Razor	Grooming	Bronze	1	
419	1	1	Nybøl	Fibula	Adornment	Bronze	1	
419	1	2	Nybøl	Dagger with scabbard	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
420	1	1	Sønder-Ønlev B	Fibula	Adornment	Bronze	1	
420	1	2	Sønder-Ønlev B	Finger ring	Adornment	Bronze	1	
421	1	1	Sønder-Ønlev H	Flint lithic tool	Weapon/Tool	Flint	1	
421	1	2	Sønder-Ønlev H		Natural Unshaped Material	Pyrite	1	
422	1	1	Sønder-Ønlev M	Arm ring	Adornment	Bronze	1	
422	1	2	Sønder-Ønlev M	Fibula	Adornment	Bronze	1	
423	1	1	Sønder-Ønlev C	Fibula	Adornment	Bronze	1	

Site ID	Burial No.	Art ID	Site Name	Artefact Type	Artefact Group	Material	Item Count	Other Description
423	1	2	Sønder-Ønlev C	Dagger	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
424	1	1	Barsmark C	Fibula	Adornment	Bronze	1	
424	1	2	Barsmark C	Knife	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
425	1	1	Barsmark	Sword	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
426	1	1	Lunderup B	Axe	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
426	1	2	Lunderup B	Finger spiral	Adornment	Bronze	1	
427	1	1	Lunderup A	Axe	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
427	1	2	Lunderup A	Flint lithic tool	Weapon/Tool	Flint	1	
428	1	1	Mjøls B	Dagger	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
428	1	2	Mjøls B	Sword with scabbard	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
428	1	3	Mjøls B	Axe	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
429	1	1	Mjøls	Sword	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
429	1	2	Mjøls	Razor	Grooming	Bronze	1	
429	1	3	Mjøls	Knife	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
430	1	1	Arndrup	Fibula	Adornment	Bronze	1	
430	1	2	Arndrup	Knife	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
430	1	3	Arndrup	Arm ring	Adornment	Bronze	3	
431	1	1	Hønkys B	Arm ring	Adornment	Bronze	1	
432	1	1	Gren A	Vessel	Container	Ceramic	1	
432	1	2	Gren A		Other	Flint	1	Flake
432	1	3	Gren A	Neck ring	Adornment	Bronze	1	
432	1	4	Gren A	Arm band	Adornment	Bronze	1	
433	1	1	Hellevad A	Vessel	Container	Ceramic	1	
433	1	2	Hellevad A	Vessel	Container	Ceramic	1	

Site ID	Burial No.	Art ID	Site Name	Artefact Type	Artefact Group	Material	Item Count	Other Description
433	1	3	Hellevad A	Sword	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
433	2	1	Hellevad C	Finger ring	Adornment	Gold	1	
434	1	1	Genner B	Sword	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
434	1	2	Genner B	Knife	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
435	1	1	Øster-Løgum	Knife	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	2	
435	1	2	Øster-Løgum		Other	Bronze	1	Ring
435	1	3	Øster-Løgum	Awl	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
436	1	1	Stolbro A	Sword	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
436	2	1	Stolbro B	Sword	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
437	1	1	Brandsbøl	Neck ring	Adornment	Bronze	1	
437	1	2	Brandsbøl	Belt box	Adornment	Bronze	1	
437	1	3	Brandsbøl	Ankle ring	Adornment	Bronze	1	
438	1	1	Nordborg A	Arm band	Adornment	Bronze	1	
438	1	2	Nordborg A	Arm ring	Adornment	Bronze	1	
438	1	3	Nordborg A	Tutuli	Adornment	Bronze	3	
439	1	1	Himmark	Flint dagger	Weapon/Tool	Flint	1	
440	1	1	Augustenborg Hovedgård		Animal Part	Shell	1	
440	1	2	Augustenborg Hovedgård	Fibula	Other	Bronze	1	
441	1	1	Lambjerg Indtægt	Razor	Grooming	Bronze	1	
442	1	1	Gammelgård	Fibula	Adornment	Bronze	1	
442	1	2	Gammelgård	Double button	Adornment	Bronze	1	
443	1	1	Gammelgård B	Vessel	Container	Ceramic	1	

Site ID	Burial No.	Art ID	Site Name	Artefact Type	Artefact Group	Material	Item Count	Other Description
443	1	2	Gammelgård B	Ankle ring	Adornment	Bronze	1	
443	1	3	Gammelgård B	Arm ring	Adornment	Bronze	1	
443	1	4	Gammelgård B	Knife	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
443	1	5	Gammelgård B	Fibula	Adornment	Bronze	1	
444	1	1	Gammelgård	Sword	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
445	1	1	Gammelgård	Sword	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
446	1	1	Gammelgård	Sword	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
447	1	1	Skakkenborg A	Belt box	Adornment	Bronze	1	
448	1	1	Skakkenborg D	Sword	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
448	1	2	Skakkenborg D	Arm ring	Adornment	Gold	1	
449	1	1	Rumohrsgård	Sword with scabbard	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
450	1	1	Rumohrsgård	Short sword	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
451	1	1	Sønderborg	Vessel	Container	Ceramic	1	
451	1	2	Sønderborg	Sword	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
452	1	1	Sønderborg	Sword	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
453	1	1	Abilgård Skov B	Pin	Adornment	Bronze	1	
453	2	1	Abilgård Skov C	Arm ring	Adornment	Bronze	1	
453	2	2	Abilgård Skov C	Arm spiral	Adornment	Bronze	1	
453	2	3	Abilgård Skov C	Awl	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
454	1	1	Stenholt	Axe	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
455	1	1	Sønderskov A	Pin	Adornment	Bronze	1	
455	1	2	Sønderskov A	Double button	Adornment	Bronze	1	
455	2	1	Sønderskov D	Finger spiral	Adornment	Bronze	2	
455	2	2	Sønderskov D	Awl	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	

Site ID	Burial No.	Art ID	Site Name	Artefact Type	Artefact Group	Material	Item Count	Other Description
456	1	1	Gammelgab	Fibula	Adornment	Bronze	1	
456	1	2	Gammelgab	Chape	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
456	1	3	Gammelgab	Dagger	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
457	1	1	Dybbøl	Sword with scabbard	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
458	1	1	Nybøl	Sword with scabbard	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
458	1	2	Nybøl	Dagger with scabbard	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
459	1	1	Hesselagergård D	Sword	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
500	1	1	Hesselagergård C	Fibula	Adornment	Bronze	1	
500	1	2	Hesselagergård C	Neck collar	Adornment	Bronze	1	
500	2	1	Hesselagergård E	Sword	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
500	2	2	Hesselagergård E	Knife	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	2	
500	2	3	Hesselagergård E	Razor	Grooming	Bronze	1	
500	2	4	Hesselagergård E	Tweezers	Grooming	Bronze	1	
500	2	5	Hesselagergård E	Awl	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
500	2	6	Hesselagergård E		Natural Unshaped Material	Amber	1	
500	2	7	Hesselagergård E	Finger spiral	Adornment	Gold	1	
500	3	1	Hesselagergård F	Sword with scabbard	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
500	3	2	Hesselagergård F	Double button	Adornment	Bronze	1	
500	3	3	Hesselagergård F	Fibula	Adornment	Bronze	1	
501	1	1	Hesselagergård A	Hair ring	Adornment	Bronze	2	
501	1	2	Hesselagergård A	Arm ring	Adornment	Bronze	1	
501	2	1	Hesselagergård B	Hair ring	Adornment	Bronze	2	
501	2	2	Hesselagergård B	Neck collar	Adornment	Bronze	1	

Site ID	Burial No.	Art ID	Site Name	Artefact Type	Artefact Group	Material	Item Count	Other Description
501	2	3	Hesselagergård B	Tutuli	Adornment	Bronze	4	
501	2	4	Hesselagergård B	Belt plate	Adornment	Bronze	1	
501	2	5	Hesselagergård B	Dagger with scabbard	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
501	2	6	Hesselagergård B	Arm ring	Adornment	Bronze	2	
501	2	7	Hesselagergård B	Finger spiral	Adornment	Bronze	4	
501	2	8	Hesselagergård B	Fibula	Adornment	Bronze	1	
502	1	1	Hesselager C	Awl	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
502	1	2	Hesselager C	Spiral	Adornment	Bronze	6	
502	1	3	Hesselager C	Bead	Adornment	Glass	3	
502	1	4	Hesselager C	Vessel	Container	Ceramic	1	
503	1	1	Hesselager A	Fibula	Adornment	Bronze	1	
503	1	2	Hesselager A	Belt plate	Adornment	Bronze	1	
503	1	3	Hesselager A	Arm spiral	Adornment	Bronze	2	
503	1	4	Hesselager	Bead	Adornment	Amber	5	
503	1	5	Hesselager A	Bead	Adornment	Glass	1	
503	1	6	Hesselager A	Vessel	Container	Ceramic	1	
504	1	1	Hesselager	Neck collar	Adornment	Bronze	1	
504	1	2	Hesselager	Dagger with scabbard	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
504	1	3	Hesselager	Bead	Adornment		1	
504	1	4	Hesselager	Tutuli	Adornment	Bronze	1	
505	1	1	Grønneskov C		Other	Bronze	1	Small misc. bronze piece
505	2	1	Grønneskov E	Awl	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
506	1	1	Grønneskov B	Tutuli	Adornment	Bronze	1	
506	1	2	Grønneskov B	Tweezers	Grooming	Bronze	1	

Site ID	Burial No.	Art ID	Site Name	Artefact Type	Artefact Group	Material	Item Count	Other Description
507	1	1	Fæbæk	Neck collar	Adornment	Bronze	1	
507	1	2	Fæbæk	Belt plate	Adornment	Bronze	1	
507	1	3	Fæbæk	Arm spiral	Adornment	Bronze	2	
508	1	1	Fæbæk A	Dagger	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
508	1	2	Fæbæk A	Fibula	Adornment	Bronze	1	
508	2	1	Fæbæk B	Dagger	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
508	2	2	Fæbæk B	Razor	Grooming	Bronze	1	
508	2	3	Fæbæk B	Flint lithic tool	Weapon/Tool	Flint	1	
508	2	4	Fæbæk B		Natural Unshaped Material	Pyrite	1	
509	1	1	Nordenbro C	Sword with scabbard	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
509	1	2	Nordenbro C	Double button	Adornment	Bronze	1	
509	1	3	Nordenbro C	Fibula	Adornment	Bronze	1	
510	1	1	Findinge	Arm band	Adornment	Bronze	2	
510	1	2	Findinge	Fibula	Adornment	Bronze	1	
511	1	1	Lyndelse	Sword	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
512	1	1	Avnslev Overby	Finger spiral	Adornment	Gold	1	
513	1	1	Bovense B	Sword	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
514	1	1	Lysemosegård A	Sickle	Weapon/Tool	Flint	1	
514	1	2	Lysemosegård A	Arm ring	Adornment	Bronze	1	
514	1	3	Lysemosegård A	Dagger	Weapon/Tool	Flint	1	
514	1	4	Lysemosegård A	Scraper	Weapon/Tool		1	
514	1	5	Lysemosegård A	Flint point	Weapon/Tool	Flint	1	
514	2	1	Lysemosegård B	Sword with scabbard	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	

Site ID	Burial No.	Art ID	Site Name	Artefact Type	Artefact Group	Material	Item Count	Other Description
514	2	2	Lysemosegård B	Lance point	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
514	2	3	Lysemosegård B	Belt hook	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
515	1	1	Strandtved	Sword with scabbard	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
516	1	1	Strandtved A	Sword with scabbard	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
517	1	1	Refs-Vindinge	Sword with scabbard	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
518	1	1	Holckenhavn A	Finger spiral	Adornment	Bronze	1	
518	2	1	Holckenhavn B	Belt plate	Adornment	Bronze	1	
518	2	2	Holckenhavn B	Tutuli	Adornment	Bronze	1	
518	2	3	Holckenhavn B	Finger spiral	Adornment	Bronze	1	
518	2	4	Holckenhavn B		Other	Bronze	1	A smooth bronze band
519	1	1	Holckenhavn A	Flint lithic tool	Weapon/Tool	Flint	1	
519	1	2	Holckenhavn A		Natural Unshaped Material	Pyrite	1	
520	1	1	Fole B	Sword	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
520	2	1	Fole D	Fibula	Adornment	Bronze	1	
521	1	1	Kastbjergled	Sword	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
521	1	2	Kastbjergled	Belt hook	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
522	1	1	Fæsted B	Awl	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
523	1	1	Fæsted	Finger spiral	Adornment	Gold	2	
523	1	2	Fæsted	Sword	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
523	1	3	Fæsted	Neck collar	Adornment	Bronze	1	
523	1	4	Fæsted	Flint point	Weapon/Tool	Flint	1	
524	1	1	Harreby B	Bead	Adornment	Amber	3	
524	1	2	Harreby B	Bead	Adornment	Glass	2	

Site ID	Burial No.	Art ID	Site Name	Artefact Type	Artefact Group	Material	Item Count	Other Description
524	1	3	Harreby B	Fibula	Adornment	Bronze	1	
524	1	4	Harreby B	Tutuli	Adornment	Bronze	1	
524	1	5	Harreby B	Arm ring	Adornment	Bronze	2	
524	1	6	Harreby B	Knife	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
524	1	7	Harreby B	Ankle ring	Adornment	Bronze	1	
525	1	1	Harreby A	Knife	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
525	1	2	Harreby A	Knife	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
525	1	3	Harreby A		Other	Bronze	3	Misc. bronze fragments
525	1	4	Harreby A		Other	Ceramic	1	Fragment from a ceramic vessel
526	1	1	Møjbøl B	Bowl	Container	Ceramic	1	
527	1	1	Møjbøl B	Awl	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
527	2	1	Møjbøl C	Pin	Adornment	Bronze	1	
527	2	2	Møjbøl C	Tweezers	Grooming	Bronze	1	
527	2	3	Møjbøl C	Razor	Grooming	Bronze	1	
528	1	1	Endrupskov A	Sword with scabbard	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
528	1	2	Endrupskov A	Pin	Adornment	Bronze	1	
528	1	3	Endrupskov A	Arm ring	Adornment	Gold	1	
529	1	1	Gammel-Ladegård	Pin	Adornment	Bronze	1	
529	1	2	Gammel-Ladegård	Double button	Adornment	Bronze	1	
530	1	1	Jernhyt A		Other	Bronze	1	Small piece
530	2	1	Jernhyt C	Dagger with scabbard	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
531	1	1	Jernhyt F	Sword with scabbard	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
531	1	2	Jernhyt F	Double button	Adornment	Bronze	1	

Site ID	Burial No.	Art ID	Site Name	Artefact Type	Artefact Group	Material	Item Count	Other Description
531	1	3	Jernhyt F	Razor	Grooming	Bronze	2	
531	1	4	Jernhyt F	Flint lithic tool	Weapon/Tool	Flint	1	
531	1	5	Jernhyt F	Fibula	Adornment	Bronze	1	
531	1	6	Jernhyt F	Knife	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
531	1	7	Jernhyt F	Tweezers	Grooming	Bronze	1	
532	1	1	Jegerup	Knife	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
532	1	2	Jegerup	Tweezers	Grooming	Bronze	1	
532	1	3	Jegerup	Lance point	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
533	1	1	Henneksdam	Tutuli	Adornment	Bronze	3	
533	1	2	Henneksdam	Nail(s)	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	26	
533	1	3	Henneksdam	Bark Box	Container	Wood	1	
533	1	4	Henneksdam	Comb	Weapon/Tool	Horn	1	
534	1	1	Jels A	Lance point	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
534	2	1	Jels B	Arm ring	Adornment	Bronze	1	
534	2	2	Jels B	Finger ring	Adornment	Bronze	1	
535	1	1	Jels	Axe	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
535	1	2	Jels	Sword with scabbard	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
536	1	1	Magstrup B	Sword	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
536	1	2	Magstrup B	Lance point	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
536	2	1	Magstrup C	Sword	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
536	3	1	Magstrup D	Tweezers	Grooming	Bronze	1	
536	3	2	Magstrup D	Lance point	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
537	1	1	Ringtved	Knife	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
537	1	2	Ringtved	Razor	Grooming	Bronze	1	

Site ID	Burial No.	Art ID	Site Name	Artefact Type	Artefact Group	Material	Item Count	Other Description
537	1	3	Ringtved	Double button	Adornment	Bronze	1	
538	1	1	Brøndlund A	Sword	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
538	1	2	Brøndlund A	Knife	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
538	1	3	Brøndlund A	Tweezers	Grooming	Bronze	1	
539	1	1	Favsbjerg A		Other	Bronze	1	Misc. bronze fragment
539	2	1	Favsbjerg B	Awl	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
539	2	2	Favsbjerg B		Other	Bronze	1	Misc. bronze fragment
539	3	1	Favsbjerg G	Tutuli	Adornment	Bronze	1	
539	3	2	Favsbjerg G	Tweezers	Grooming	Bronze	1	
539	3	3	Favsbjerg G	Awl	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
540	1	1	Gabøl D	Tutuli	Adornment	Bronze	1	
540	2	1	Gabøl E	Knife	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
541	1	1	Kolsnap D	Double button	Adornment	Bronze	1	
541	1	2	Kolsnap D	Awl	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
541	1	3	Kolsnap D		Other	Bronze	1	Ring
542	1	1	Lille-Nustrup	Sword with scabbard	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
542	1	2	Lille-Nustrup	Arm ring	Adornment	Gold	1	
542	1	3	Lille-Nustrup	Spiral	Adornment	Gold	37	
542	1	4	Lille-Nustrup	Pin	Adornment	Bronze	1	
542	1	5	Lille-Nustrup	Knife	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
542	1	6	Lille-Nustrup	Fibula	Adornment	Bronze	1	
542	1	7	Lille-Nustrup		Other	Bronze	1	Misc. bronze fragment
543	1	1	Lundsbæk B	Short sword	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
544	1	1	Vrå	Knife	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	

Site ID	Burial No.	Art ID	Site Name	Artefact Type	Artefact Group	Material	Item Count	Other Description
545	1	1	Ørsted C	Pin	Adornment	Bronze	1	
545	1	2	Ørsted C	Vessel	Container	Ceramic	1	
546	1	1	Ørsted A	Dagger	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
546	1	2	Ørsted A	Fibula	Adornment	Bronze	1	
546	1	3	Ørsted A	Vessel	Container	Ceramic	1	
546	2	1	Ørsted B	Tweezers	Grooming	Bronze	1	
546	3	1	Ørsted C	Razor	Grooming	Bronze	1	
547	1	1	Ørsted	Sword	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
547	1	2	Ørsted	Finger spiral	Other	Gold	2	
548	1	1	Ørsted	Sword	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
549	1	1	Hørløk B	Razor	Grooming	Bronze	1	
549	2	1	Hørløk D	Ankle ring	Adornment	Bronze	1	
549	2	2	HørløkD	Knife	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
549	2	3	Hørløk D	Awl	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
549	2	4	Hørløk D	Finger ring	Other	Gold	1	Ring
550	1	1	Lilholt B	Vessel	Container	Ceramic	1	
550	2	1	Lilholt D	Dagger	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
550	3	1	Lilholt E	Dagger	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
550	3	2	Lilholt E	Fibula	Adornment	Bronze	1	
551	1	1	Lilholt B	Dagger	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
551	1	2	Lilholt B	Belt plate	Adornment	Bronze	1	
551	1	3	Lilholt B	Finger spiral	Adornment	Gold	2	
552	1	1	Skrydstrup D	Fibula	Adornment	Bronze	1	
552	1	2	Skrydstrup D	Hair ring	Adornment	Bronze	2	

Site ID	Burial No.	Art ID	Site Name	Artefact Type	Artefact Group	Material	Item Count	Other Description
552	1	3	Skrydstrup D	Neck ring	Adornment	Bronze	1	
552	1	4	Skrydstrup D	Bead	Adornment	Amber	6	
552	1	5	Skrydstrup D	Bead	Adornment	Glass	1	
552	1	6	Skrydstrup D	Spiral	Adornment	Bronze	2	
552	1	7	Skrydstrup D	Belt plate	Adornment	Bronze	1	
552	1	8	Skrydstrup D	Arm ring	Adornment	Bronze	1	
552	1	9	Skrydstrup D	Tutuli	Adornment	Bronze	1	
553	1	1	Skrydstrup A	Razor	Grooming	Bronze	1	
554	1	1	Skrydstrup A	Flint dagger	Weapon/Tool	Flint	1	
554	1	2	Skrydstrup A	Vessel	Container	Ceramic	1	
554	2	1	Skrydstrup C	Finger spiral	Adornment	Gold	1	
554	2	2	Skrydstrup C	Knife	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	2	
554	2	3	Skrydstrup C	Tweezers	Grooming	Bronze	1	
554	2	4	Skrydstrup C	Fibula	Adornment	Bronze	1	
554	3	1	Skrydstrup F	Pin	Adornment	Bronze	1	
555	1	1	Skrydstrup A	Fibula	Adornment	Bronze	1	
555	1	2	Skrydstrup A	Hair ring	Adornment	Gold	2	
555	1	3	Skrydstrup A	Neck collar	Adornment	Bronze	1	
555	1	4	Skrydstrup A	Belt plate	Adornment	Bronze	1	
555	1	5	Skrydstrup A	Dagger	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
555	1	6	Skrydstrup A	Arm band	Adornment	Bronze	2	
555	1	7	Skrydstrup A	Finger spiral	Adornment	Bronze	1	
555	1	8	Skrydstrup A	Spiral	Adornment	Bronze	1	
555	1	9	Skrydstrup A	Ankle ring	Adornment	Bronze	1	

Site ID	Burial No.	Art ID	Site Name	Artefact Type	Artefact Group	Material	Item Count	Other Description
555	2	1	Skrydstrup D	Sword	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
555	2	2	Skrydstrup D	Axe	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
556	1	1	Skrydstrup	Arm band	Adornment	Bronze	1	
557	1	1	Skrydstrup	Fibula	Adornment	Bronze	1	
557	1	2	Skrydstrup	Arm ring	Adornment	Bronze		
557	2	1	Skrydstrup	Razor	Grooming	Bronze	1	
558	1	1	Skrydstrup B	Sword	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
558	1	2	Skrydstrup B	Double button	Adornment	Bronze	1	
559	1	1	Sommersted C	Flint dagger	Weapon/Tool	Flint	1	
559	1	2	Sommersted C	Axe	Weapon/Tool	Flint	1	
559	1	3	Sommersted C	Flint point	Weapon/Tool	Flint	1	
560	1	1	Abjær	Double button	Adornment	Bronze	1	
561	1	1	Arnitlund B	Dagger	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
561	1	2	Arnitlund B	Finger spiral	Other	Gold	2	
561	1	3	Arnitlund B	Pin	Adornment	Bronze	1	
562	1	1	Arnitlund C	Fibula	Adornment	Bronze	1	
563	1	1	Høgelund	Sword with scabbard	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
563	1	2	Høgelund	Finger ring	Adornment	Gold	1	
564	1	1	Lille-Vedbøl	Arm band	Adornment	Bronze	1	
564	1	2	Lille-Vedbøl	Awl	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
564	1	3	Lille-Vedbøl		Other	Bronze	2	Misc. fragments
565	1	1	Over-Jerstal A	Sword	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
565	1	2	Over-Jerstal A	Fibula	Adornment	Bronze	1	
565	1	3	Over-Jerstal A	Arm band	Adornment	Bronze	1	

Site ID	Burial No.	Art ID	Site Name	Artefact Type	Artefact Group	Material	Item Count	Other Description
565	1	4	Over-Jerstal A	Knife	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
565	1	5	Over-Jerstal A	Vessel	Container	Ceramic	1	
565	1	6	Over-Jerstal A	Chape	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
565	2	1	Over-Jerstal B	Razor	Grooming	Bronze	1	
565	3	1	Over-Jerstal C	Knife	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
565	3	2	Over-Jerstal C	Tweezers	Grooming	Bronze	1	
565	4	1	Over-Jerstal D	Tweezers	Grooming	Bronze	1	
565	4	2	Over-Jerstal D	Lance point	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
566	1	1	Over-Jerstal	Dagger	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
566	1	2	Over-Jerstal	Tutuli	Adornment	Bronze	1	
566	1	3	Over-Jerstal	Flint lithic tool	Weapon/Tool	Flint	1	
567	1	1	Vedsted A	Dagger	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
567	2	1	Vedsted B	Awl	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
568	1	1	Vedsted A	Vessel	Container	Ceramic	1	
568	1	2	Vedsted A		Other	Bronze	1	Misc. piece
568	2	1	Vedsted B	Tweezers	Grooming	Bronze	1	
568	3	1	Vedsted C	Double button	Adornment	Bronze	1	
569	1	1	Vedsted D	Knife	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
570	1	1	Billund	Dagger	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
571	1	1	Vojensgård B	Sword	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
571	1	2	Vojensgård B	Flint lithic tool	Weapon/Tool	Flint	1	
571	1	3	Vojensgård B	Razor	Grooming	Bronze	1	
572	1	1	Vojensgård	Finger spiral	Adornment	Gold	2	
572	1	2	Vojensgård	Flint lithic tool	Weapon/Tool	Flint	1	

Site ID	Burial No.	Art ID	Site Name	Artefact Type	Artefact Group	Material	Item Count	Other Description
572	1	3	Vojensgård	Tutuli	Adornment	Bronze	1	
572	1	4	Vojensgård	Dagger	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
572	1	5	Vojensgård	Fibula	Adornment	Bronze	1	
572	1	6	Vojensgård		Natural Unshaped Material	Pyrite	1	
573	1	1	Vojensgård E a	Flint point	Weapon/Tool	Flint	1	
573	1	2	Vojensgård E a		Other	Ceramic	1	Sherd from a vessel
573	2	1	Vojensgård E b	Flint point	Weapon/Tool	Flint	1	
573	3	1	Vojensgård E c	Button	Adornment	Amber	1	
574	1	1	Vojensgård A	Double button	Adornment	Bronze	1	
574	2	1	Vojensgård B	Sword	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
574	2	2	Vojensgård B	Fibula	Adornment	Bronze	1	
575	1	1	Vojensgård	Sword	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
576	1	1	Hejsager	Sword	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
577	1	1	Diernæs A	Sword	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
577	1	2	Diernæs A	Knife	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
577	1	3	Diernæs A	Razor	Grooming	Bronze	1	
577	2	1	Diernæs B	Sword	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
577	2	2	Diernæs B	Double button	Adornment	Bronze	1	
577	3	1	Diernæs C	Dagger	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
577	3	2	Diernæs C	Fibula	Adornment	Bronze	1	
578	1	1	Diernæs B	Fibula	Adornment	Bronze	2	
579	1	1	Diernæs A	Dagger with scabbard	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
580	1	1	Diernæs B	Tutuli	Adornment	Bronze	3	

Site ID	Burial No.	Art ID	Site Name	Artefact Type	Artefact Group	Material	Item Count	Other Description
580	1	2	Diernæs B	Fibula	Adornment	Bronze	1	
581	1	1	Diernæs B	Dagger	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
581	1	2	Diernæs B	Double button	Adornment	Bronze	1	
581	1	3	Diernæs B	Fibula	Adornment	Bronze	1	
582	1	1	Hoptrup	Arm band	Adornment	Bronze	1	
582	1	2	Hoptrup	Pin	Adornment	Bronze	2	
582	1	3	Hoptrup	Vessel	Container	Ceramic	1	
583	1	1	Neder-Kestrup A	Bead	Adornment	Glass	2	
583	1	2	Neder-Kestrup A		Other	Bronze	1	Wire coil fragments
583	2	1	Neder-Kestrup B	Knife	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
583	3	1	Neder-Kestrup E	Awl	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
584	1	1	Sønder-Vilstrup B	Fibula	Adornment	Bronze	1	
584	1	2	Sønder-Vilstrup B	Arm ring	Adornment	Bronze	2	
584	1	3	Sønder-Vilstrup B	Dagger	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
584	1	4	Sønder-Vilstrup B	Finger spiral	Adornment	Bronze	1	
584	1	5	Sønder-Vilstrup B	Arm band	Adornment	Bronze	2	
585	1	1	Vellerup	Sword	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
585	1	2	Vellerup	Axe	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
586	1	1	Bevtoft A	Dagger	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
586	1	2	Bevtoft A	Tweezers	Grooming	Bronze	1	
586	1	3	Bevtoft A	Flint lithic tool	Weapon/Tool	Flint	1	
586	1	4	Bevtoft A		Natural Unshaped Material	Pyrite	1	
587	1	1	Bevtoft A	Vessel	Container	Ceramic	1	

Site ID	Burial No.	Art ID	Site Name	Artefact Type	Artefact Group	Material	Item Count	Other Description
587	2	1	Bevtoft B	Double button	Adornment	Bronze	1	
588	1	1	Gøttrup	Arm band	Adornment	Bronze	1	
589	1	1	Tislund B	Dagger	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
590	1	1	Åbøl A	Sword with scabbard	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
590	2	1	Åbøl B	Dagger	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
590	2	2	Åbøl B	Fibula	Adornment	Bronze	1	
591	1	1	Åbøl	Knife	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
592	1	1	Toftlund A	Arm ring	Adornment	Bronze	2	
592	1	2	Toftlund A	Tutuli	Adornment	Bronze	2	
592	1	3	Toftlund A		Other	Bronze		Says "pieces of bronze bent in fire"
593	1	1	Store-Anslet	Sword	Weapon/Tool	Bronze	1	
593	1	2	Store-Anslet	Finger spiral	Adornment	Gold	1	
593	1	3	Store-Anslet	Axe	Weapon/Tool	Flint	1	

Table (2.3): Osteologically Examined Dataset

Site ID	Burial Number	Region	Period	Burial Type	Sex	Artefact Type	Material	Item Count
594	1	Jutland	EBA	In	M	Double button	Bronze	1
594	1	Jutland	EBA	In	M	Fibula	Bronze	1
594	1	Jutland	EBA	In	M	Knife	Bronze	2
594	1	Jutland	EBA	In	M	Sword	Bronze	1
595	1	Zealand	EBA	In	M	Dagger	Bronze	1
596	1	Jutland	II	In	M	Awl	Bronze	1
596	1	Jutland	II	In	M	Belt plate	Bronze	1
596	1	Jutland	II	In	M	Finger spiral	Bronze	1
596	1	Jutland	II	In	M	Razor	Bronze	1
596	1	Jutland	II	In	M	Sword	Bronze	1
597	1	Zealand	EBA	In	F	Arm ring	Bronze	1
597	1	Zealand	EBA	In	F	Fibula	Bronze	1
597	1	Zealand	EBA	In	F	Tutuli	Bronze	3
598	1	Zealand	U	In	F	Sword	Bronze	1
598	1	Zealand	U	In	F	Wedge	Flint	1
599	1	Jutland	EBA	In	M	Axe	Bronze	1
599	1	Jutland	EBA	In	M	Needle	Bronze	2
599	1	Jutland	EBA	In	M	Sword	Bronze	1
600	1	Zealand	U	In	M	Dagger	Bronze	1
600	1	Zealand	U	In	M	Double button	Bronze	2
600	1	Zealand	U	In	M	Fibula	Bronze	2
600	1	Zealand	U	In	M	Knife	Bronze	1
600	1	Zealand	U	In	M	Tweezers	Bronze	1
601	1	Jutland	LBA	Cr	F	Awl	Bronze	1
601	1	Jutland	LBA	Cr	F	Natural unshaped material(s)	Amber	1
602	1	Jutland	III	Cr	F	Bead	Glass	2
602	1	Jutland	III	Cr	F	Fibula	Bronze	2
602	1	Jutland	III	Cr	F	Knife	Bronze	1
602	1	Jutland	III	Cr	F	Spiral	Bronze	1
603	1	Jutland	III	Cr	F	Animal part(s)	Shell	1
603	1	Jutland	III	Cr	F	Animal part(s)	Shell	1
603	1	Jutland	III	Cr	F	Arm ring	Bronze	1
603	1	Jutland	III	Cr	F	Finger spiral	Bronze	1
603	1	Jutland	III	Cr	F	Natural unshaped material(s)	Flint	1
604	1	Jutland	III	Cr	F	Arm ring	Bronze	2
604	1	Jutland	III	Cr	F	Ring(s)	Bronze	1
605	1	Jutland	II	In	M	Awl	Bronze	1

Site ID	Burial Number	Region	Period	Burial Type	Sex	Artefact Type	Material	Item Count
605	1	Jutland	II	In	M	Axe	Bronze	1
605	1	Jutland	II	In	M	Belt hook	Bronze	1
605	1	Jutland	II	In	M	Chisel	Bronze	1
605	1	Jutland	II	In	M	Flint lithic tool	Flint	1
605	1	Jutland	II	In	M	Nail(s)	Bronze	1
605	1	Jutland	II	In	M	Saw	Bronze	1
605	1	Jutland	II	In	M	Tweezers	Bronze	1
606	3	Jutland	II	In	F	Arm ring	Bronze	2
606	3	Jutland	II	In	F	Belt plate	Bronze	1
606	2	Jutland	II	In	M	Box	Wood	1
606	3	Jutland	II	In	F	Comb	Horn	1
606	2	Jutland	II	In	M	Comb	Bone	1
606	3	Jutland	II	In	F	Dagger	Bronze	1
606	2	Jutland	II	In	M	Dagger	Bronze	1
606	3	Jutland	II	In	F	Double button	Bronze	2
606	3	Jutland	II	In	F	Fibula	Bronze	1
606	3	Jutland	II	In	F	Finger spiral	Bronze	2
606	3	Jutland	II	In	F	Neck ring	Bronze	1
606	3	Jutland	II	In	F	Vessel	Ceramic	1
607	1	Jutland	II	In	F	Arm ring	Bronze	2
607	1	Jutland	II	In	F	Awl	Bronze	1
607	1	Jutland	II	In	F	Belt plate	Bronze	1
607	1	Jutland	II	In	F	Box	Wood	1
607	1	Jutland	II	In	F	Comb	Horn	1
607	1	Jutland	II	In	F	Hair ring	Bronze	1
608	1	Jutland	III	In	M	Comb	Horn	1
608	1	Jutland	III	In	M	Razor	Bronze	1
609	1	Jutland	III	In	F	Comb	Horn	1
609	1	Jutland	III	In	F	Hair ring	Gold	2
610	1	Zealand	III	In	M	Arm ring	Gold	1
610	1	Zealand	III	In	M	Bead	Glass	1
610	1	Zealand	III	In	M	Fibula	Bronze	1
610	1	Zealand	III	In	M	Flint lithic tool	Flint	1
610	1	Zealand	III	In	M	Knife	Bronze	1
610	1	Zealand	III	In	M	Other	Wood	1
610	1	Zealand	III	In	M	Other	Leather	1
610	1	Zealand	III	In	M	Sword	Bronze	1
611	2	Zealand	II	In	M	Fibula	Bronze	1
612	1	Zealand	II	In	M	Sword	Bronze	1
613	1	Zealand	EBA	In	M	Dagger	Bronze	1